The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1899.

The Week.

The gold-standard bill passed the House on Monday by a majority of forty votes, although the straight Republican majority in that body is only twelve. Immediately after the result was declared, Mr. De Armond of Missouri announced the death of his colleague, Richard P. Bland—a rather extraordinary coincidence. Mr. Bland took up the fight for the free coinage of silver twenty-three years ago, and from that time forward he was the most conspicuous figure on that side of the contest until Bryan came to the front in 1896. It is not generally remembered now that Bland led Bryan in the voting in the Chicago convention during the first three ballots. If honors were awarded by political parties in proportion to services rendered, nobody but Bland would have been thought of for nomination on a free-silver platform. The place of leading martyr would have been awarded to him in preference to anybody else. His distinction comes in the singular fact that the House where he sat so long should take official cognizance of his death immediately after passing a bill that proclaims the downfall and ruin of the political structure which he sought to build. The feeble proclamation which the Silver Republicans put forth at the same time sounds like a dirge to accompany Mr. De Armond's announcement:

"Hark! from the tombs a doleful sound."

The debate on the currency bill in the House has called for some observations on the recent advance in the prices of commodities. In the campaign of 1896, and for a long time before, the advocates of bimetallism rested their case mainly on the great decline in general prices that had taken place since 1873. They took that year as a starting-point, because it was the year in which the "crime" of demonetization was committed in the United States. They were able to show a pretty general decline in prices during the twenty succeeding years, but did not show that it was due to the demonetization of silver, or that it was a bad thing for the human race. It was contended, on the other side, that the decline was due to improved methods of production and transportation, and that, however produced, it was beneficial to mankind. The bimetallists, on the whole, gained most from the debate, because the average man thinks more about the price he obtains for the products that he sells than for those which he buys. So it came to pass that Bryan and his followers went on swimmingly in the campaign of 1896 until about the middle of August, when a sudden advance in the price of wheat, due to short crops in Europe, checked their career and led the Western farmers to think that there might be a flaw in the bimetallist argument. The price of wheat continued to advance till the day of election, and did not stop even then.

Although silver has not been remonetized in any part of the world, but has been demonetized in several countries since the year 1896, there has been a general advance of prices both here and abroad, and it is not quite certain that the bimetallists are happy over it. At all events, Congressman De Armond is not. He says it is mainly due to the Trusts—from which it appears that high prices may be good or may be bad according to circumstances. If a man who is accustomed to pay $3 for a barrel of flour finds himself obliged to pay $5 for the same quantity and quality, it will be bad for him if the advance is due to the Milling Trust, but good for him if it is due to the free coinage of silver. There is no end to the pitfalls that the bimetallists prepared for themselves when they made the rise and fall of prices the decisive factor in their argument. The truth of the matter is, that general prices are dependent upon causes too numerous and too recondite to build political parties upon. Economists of distinction are not agreed about them. The quantitative theory of money is in a state of flux. The believers in it are not agreed among themselves in their method of stating it. One thing, however, is certain: if wages advance or remain stationary, then any general decline of the prices is an advantage to the wage-workers, who are the greater part of the human race. Conversely, a general advance of prices, unless wages advance in equal ratio, is an injury to them, no matter whether the cause of the advance be Trusts, short crops, free silver, or what you please. The poor man in every such case has to pay more for his living, and he has no more to pay with.

It took only a week to show that the Republican party of the country, so far as its attitude can be judged from the tone of its newspapers, is ready to accept the policy of free trade as recommended by its protectionist President in that part of his message to Congress relating to Porto Rico. Mr. McKinley advised that "the markets of the United States should be opened up to her products," and declared that "our plain duty is to abolish all customs tariffs between the United States and Porto Rico, and give her products free access to our markets." It was an interesting subject for speculation how this proposition would be taken by the press of a party which only two years ago would have "viewed with alarm" the idea of free trade between this country and one of the West Indies. The New York *Press* led off in the old familiar strain, pronouncing Mr. McKinley's recommendation the "greatest victory for free trade" since the day, fifty years ago, when George M. Dallas, as Vice-President, gave the casting vote in the Senate for the adoption of the Walker tariff, and it predicted an indignant uprising against such a policy by the masses of the party. But it has been as the voice of one crying in the wilderness. Leading Republican newspapers throughout the country have warmly endorsed the suggestion of free trade, whether, like the Philadelphia *Press*, published in a hotbed of protection, or, like the Burlington (Iowa) *Hawkeye*, in one of those agricultural States whose farmers were expected to raise an indignant protest which would carry alarm to the White House. The tobacco-growers of New England, who were at first somewhat disturbed about the free admission of the Porto Rico product, have concluded that they have nothing to fear from such competition. The sugar interests of the United States do not appear to be alarmed over the prospect of the free entry of sugar. The manufacturers, who are always the best organized and most effective defenders of the high-tariff policy at Washington, manifest so far not the slightest interest in the controversy. Indeed, the present tendency is toward the acceptance of the President's policy by both the country and Congress, without much of a fight against it from any quarter.

A member of Mr. McKinley's "insular commission," Mr. H. G. Curtis, deprecates in the *Forum* any rash meddling of Congress with Porto Rico. Far better leave everything to the President. He is "better informed" than Congress; he "can be relied upon to make a good code of laws," and, besides, can "prepare and promulgate the laws more promptly than Congress, which naturally occupies much time in adjusting conflicting questions." Exactly, and the same argument would be even stronger if applied to domestic legislation. Congress is such a slow and pottering body that any one can see it would be much better to have an infallible and all-wise President lay our taxes and spend our money. No such luck is in store for us, for at home we have the "manners of liberty," as Jules Lemaître calls all the disagreeable and dilatory ways of public discussion and public legislation in a democracy. Yet Mr. Curtis's innocent casting of him-

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self into the arms of a benevolent tyrant, as respects the government of our dependencies, shows what are the inner affinities of expansion. But he overlooks the most powerful reason of all for turning the matter over to Congress—namely, that delightful argument of the Imperialists, that reform is to come to our domestic politics via Manila and Ponce. Congress is to legislate purely, wisely, and unselfishly for Porto Rico and the Philippines, and then is to catch such a virtuous contagion that it is to have the happy thought of passing good laws for the United States. It is really cruel in Mr. Curtis to cut us off from hope of reform in New York by indirect radiation from Havana and San Juan, and to deprive us of the chance of putting down Quay and Platt and our other bosses by the fine strategy of first extirpating the power of the old Spanish *caciques* in Porto Rico and Cuba.

Senator Lodge introduced a bill last week to put hides on the free list of the tariff. The present duty is 15 per cent. ad valorem, and there never was any reason for such a duty. It was put in the Dingley bill, not because anybody wanted it for "protection," but to save appearances and to make the bill harmonious. The tanners and shoemakers have decided that the time has come for them to be harmonized; they have accordingly sent numerous petitions to Washington for a repeal of this nonsensical tax. They will not get it repealed, however, or not in the direct way proposed by Senator Lodge, because that would reopen the whole tariff question. They may get it done by way of reciprocity. There is a treaty now pending with Argentina, in which hides are admitted at 20 per cent. reduction of the Dingley tax. Let the Senators from Massachusetts get this treaty amended to admit hides from Argentina free. This can be done in secret session, and even if it were in open session there would be no effective opposition to it. Then the same rule that we apply to Argentina must needs be applied to other South American countries, and gradually we shall get back to the happy condition we were in before Dingley took hold of the matter, and without danger of reopening the tariff question.

The letter written by Senator Hoar to ex-Senator Edmunds on the Philippine question is encouraging in the evidence it brings that the cause of human freedom is not without a first-rate leader in the Senate of the United States. "Congress," he says, "has not yet committed itself to the policy of imperialism; still less are the American people so committed." Senators Tillman of South Carolina and Bacon of Georgia have ranged themselves with Senator Hoar in the endeavor to keep the United States true to the underlying principles of the Declaration of Independence. It will, no doubt, furnish some occasion for scoffing to find Tillman and Hoar marching under the same banner, but of course the latter is not going to abandon a righteous cause because the former has seen fit to espouse it. Mr. Tillman's resolution seeks to apply to the Philippines the same principles that were declared by Congress in respect of Cuba. It promises them independence as soon as a stable government shall be established by them, and also friendly assistance in establishing such government. Mr. Bacon's is the same in substance, although differing slightly in form. Now, nothing can be more helpful to the formation of sound opinions on this subject than a debate in Congress on these resolutions. It is not to be doubted that Senator Hoar will hold the part in it which his experience, his powers, and his standing as the foremost New England Senator entitle him to take.

Senator Hoar has again perseveringly brought forward his old proposition for an amendment of the Constitution advancing the time of year when the term of a President shall begin and end from the 4th of March to the 30th of April, the anniversary of the day when Washington was inaugurated in 1789. It is necessary, therefore, again to repeat that this is a movement in the wrong direction. There ought to be a change in the time when a new President and the Congress elected with him come into office, but it should be a change forward and not backward. More than half of the States elect their Governors on the same day in the November of every fourth year that a President is chosen, and most of the rest in the November of a previous year. In every one of these States the Governor elected in November and the legislators chosen at the same time enter upon their duties early in the following January. It ought to be the same way with the national executive and lawmakers. Instead of the President's not taking the oath of office until the 4th of March—or, as Mr. Hoar would have it, the 30th of April—and Congress not meeting in the ordinary course until the December after the inauguration, the old officials at Washington should go out and the new ones should come in at the beginning of the year, as is the rule at the State capitals. The present system is illogical and absurd, while the change advocated by Mr. Hoar would only make things worse.

The introduction by Senator Cullom of a bill to authorize railroad pooling, subject to the control of the Interstate Commerce Commission, is a fresh sign of the change of public opinion on this question. Our readers may recall a somewhat remarkable speech made by Mr. Knapp, the chairman of the Interstate Commission, at a dinner in Chicago last August, in which he publicly proclaimed the failure of the anti-pooling law and advised its abandonment. He said that, while it had been enacted to prevent discriminations in freight charges, it not only had failed to do so, but have aggravated them. Experience had convinced him that the law was not enforceable. Under the non-pooling system the motive to discriminate was too strong to be resisted. Railroad officials were compelled to get traffic somehow; their existence depended upon getting it. Therefore, they would incur the risks and penalties of the law rather than not get it. No punishments would suffice to stay discriminations while such powerful motives for practising them existed. Therefore, he protested against "the error and inconsistency of a legislative policy which makes rate competition compulsory, and at the same time condemns as criminal misdemeanors the acts and inducements by which in other spheres of activity competition is mainly effected." Mr. Knapp concluded his speech by formally recommending legalized pooling as the only way to restore honorable methods to the business of railway transportation, and to range the railways on the side of the law.

Senator Cullom's bill provides for the formation of joint traffic associations under the control of the Interstate Commerce Commission, all agreements as to rates and conditions being subject to its approval. It prohibits the paying of any rebate to shippers on the agreed rates, or the granting of any special privileges in receiving, storing, or handling freight. It also provides for a national freight classification by the Interstate Commerce Commission which is to be binding upon all interstate carriers. Penalties of $5,000 for violations of the rates so fixed are provided, each day to be deemed a separate offence. These provisions are for the public advantage, and undoubtedly they would be enforced by the Interstate Commission in such a way as to promote honesty in railway transportation. The remaining provisions of the bill are of more doubtful merit. They authorize the Commission to fix both maximum and minimum rates, and differentials in rates when necessary to prevent discrimination; also to determine the division between carriers of a joint rate, and the terms and conditions under which business shall be interchanged; to make changes in classification, and to amend the rules and regulations under which traffic moves so as to bring them into conformity with the provisions of the act. It is true that Commissioner Knapp, in the speech referred to above, recommended that the Commission be vested with power to fix

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rates when they are unreasonable. This seems to be a stretch of power beyond any authority possessed by Congress itself, since the determination of what is a reasonable charge is a judicial function. Nevertheless, the bill ought to pass, even if it contains some provisions of doubtful expediency or constitutionality. The evils caused by the anti-pooling law are so great and so demoralizing that they ought not to be borne any longer.

The President's alleged heroic determination that no federal officeholders should take part as delegates in the convention which is to renominate him, did not impress civil-service reformers as so valuable an approval of their contentions as some of the President's friends anticipated. It was hailed in some quarters as a refutation of the Mugwump charge that the President had broken his pledge to uphold and extend the reform, but this does not appear to be the prevailing view. Perhaps if a renomination were less certain than it seems to be now, and if the aid of the officeholders were necessary in bringing it about, a sceptical public might have detected more heroism in the determination than it did under present conditions. We observe that Collector Bidwell stands firmly for the proposal, and declares that nobody in the custom-house service shall be allowed to attend the convention. This shows that one convert at least has been made, for Mr. Bidwell saw no impropriety during the late campaign in this city in acting himself as the chairman of the campaign committee of a machine candidate for the Legislature.

What a bracing effect it would have upon the political atmosphere if the Democrats were to cut loose from Bryan and his dead issue and turn their faces to the future with a man of brains and character as a Presidential candidate! The transformation that would come over the President and all the members of the "McKinley syndicate" would be little short of magical. They would at once evolve a policy on the questions of expansion and of the Philippines which would recognize the existence of the principles of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution. They would at once begin to treat civil-service reform with respect and all reformers with deference. They would at once begin to talk economy in expenditure and to put the brakes upon Congress. In short, they would immediately begin to bait their hooks for the doubtful or independent voter, and the result would be one of the sanest and most economical sessions of Congress that we have had in many years, instead of what now promises to be one of the most reckless and extravagant ever known. We should pass at one bound from a political situation in which argument and reason seem to command no hearing, to one in which both parties would be using them as the chief weapons of the approaching campaign. Is there not enough wisdom left in the Democratic party to perceive this opportunity, which fairly yawns before it?

The Massachusetts cities which have been holding municipal elections this month applied the principle of the referendum to an important matter of administration. The question has been submitted whether the eight-hour system should be adopted as regards all employees of the city government. It is not surprising to find that the proposition has been carried in every city, usually by an overwhelming majority, in many cases about three to one in the affirmative. Of course "organized labor" has been behind this movement. Its theory is that the application of the eight-hour system by the municipality will hasten its adoption by private employers, and the fact that the Saturday half-holiday made slow headway until it was taken up by cities is cited in support of this claim. The only curious feature of the incident is that "organized labor" did not act upon this principle sooner. Undoubtedly it could have carried the eight-hour proposition in its present form years ago in any city.

The attempt of the Bank of France to prevent the exportation of gold reminds us that similar attempts have been made by our Treasury officials during recent years, by making a charge for gold bars high enough to compel exporters to take coin instead. Such interference with the natural course of trade does not stop, or even retard, the movement of gold out of the country when the course of trade requires such movement. It merely puts to an additional expense the man who has to pay debts abroad. His obligations are not diminished by such charges, but rather increased. We are glad to see that the present director of the mint has drawn attention to the futility and folly of the extra charge imposed for gold bars. The bars are a raw material of which coin is the finished product. Gold eagles are more costly to produce than gold bars. Therefore, if any discrimination is to be made by the Government, it ought to be in the direction of keeping our coin and letting foreigners take our bars instead. As we have a surplus of gold at present, this is a favorable time for amending the law in accord with common sense, so that when gold exports are necessary, they may be made with the least cost to those who are obliged to make remittances abroad.

Gatacre, then Methuen, then Buller—disasters to one after the other, all in one week and all in one way. Buller, of whom most was expected, has suffered worst of all, for the loss of eleven guns cripples him more than would the putting of three regiments out of the fight. The Boers have fought their battles on precisely the lines of Bloemplaatz and Krugersdorp. Ensconced in ridges and hidden among the rocks, on either side a river, they bide their time, wait for the British to be beguiled by Dutch stratagem, and then their deadly marksmanship does the rest. Buller was supposed to be the one man to fathom and frustrate these historic tactics of the Boers, but he seems to have gone more blindly to ruin than even his fellow-generals. It is a terrible shock to British military prestige, and is the more deplorable in that it tends to prolong and make more bloody a war which has already been disastrous beyond all expectation. The subsequent assignment of Roberts and Kitchener to South Africa signifies England's determination to pit her best men against the Boers, but it is also a kind of notification to the world that the British Empire is ready for all eventualities. Like the appointment of Admiral Beresford to command in the Mediterranean, it implies that imperial policy is watchful over all imperial interests. If troubles come in India or beyond the frontier; if the French stir up Menelik to march from Abyssinia against the British in the Sudan; if at any point in her wide domain Britain should see danger arising, she will not be unprepared. The Cape may resume its old place as the half-way house to India and the Orient.

The Intelligence Department of the British army still insists that it was accurately informed, and fully acquainted the Government, as to the military strength of the Boers. An army officer, writing in the *Contemporary*, asserts that the Colonial Office went towards war not in ignorance of the facts, but with culpable neglect to act upon the recommendations of its military advisers. It is even hinted now that one reason why Chamberlain recalled Sir William Butler from the Cape command was that he had warned the Secretary that the British force was quite inadequate. On the other hand, the Boers were not asleep. They trusted God, but they got together an enormous amount of powder to keep dry. A letter recently printed in the *Écho de Paris*, and which purported to come from Gen. Joubert, spoke in the following way of the Dutch plan:

> "To arm ourselves unremittingly and to hide these armaments from the English—such was our object. We have fully succeeded therein. We often allowed secret English agents to penetrate into our arsenals, where there was merely old artillery matériel, but we carefully concealed our modern matériel, of which they thus knew nothing until the very eve of the war. We were not mistaken in counting on the contemptuous estimates formed by the English spies as to our military force."

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WASHINGTON.

It has been the good fortune of but few of the men who, in all ages and among all peoples, have played leading parts in shaping the course of events and determining the lines of national progress, to gain either in definiteness of position or in clearness of outline with the lapse of years. Modern historical scholarship is prone to show us how commonplace and trivial have been the lives of national heroes; and it is often the picture of the commonplace and trivial that most persistently recurs. At rare intervals, however, there stands out the figure of a leader who, in spite of all the prosaic incidents of his career, somehow fixes and holds popular affection and esteem by virtue of certain large qualities of mind and a distinct capacity for dealing with permanent interests. Such a figure is Washington—the great heroic American of popular imagination. Among all our notable men, none has been so steadily pointed to as a pattern for youth, none has been so great an inspiration to personal effort. In a country like ours, of few traditions and little effectual reverence for the past, and where these latter days have seen the wisdom of the fathers contemptuously decried, it cannot but be wholesome to inquire what were the qualities which have made Washington, for now a hundred years, a national example.

The answer is not to be found in the possession by Washington, in any pre-eminent degree, of certain qualities and accomplishments which often contribute greatly to personal success. Washington was not a learned man, even according to the standard of his time. We know that his educational advantages were limited, and that he was not much addicted to books. He was no Spartan in thought or life. His biographers tell us that he loved good cheer, that he could be passionately angry, and that he sometimes swore. It is not because of moral or intellectual perfection in any of these regards that America has come to revere him. Nor is it, on the other hand, because Washington exhibited, as President, great powers of constructive statesmanship. In a period in which the structure of the national government was being erected, and the machinery of administration devised and set up, the details ascribable to his personal suggestion or advocacy are comparatively few; it is the ideas of Hamilton and Jefferson, rather than those of Washington, which attain, in the years from 1789 to 1797, permanent significance. The meaning of party government, and the impossibility of getting on without it, seem not to have made any particular appeal to Washington; and he chose his first cabinet from leaders of opposing political faiths. He never undertook to "manage" politics, and was chary of throwing his personal influence on one side or other of the political scales. That he acted with great caution and discretion, that he could use force when necessary, and that there was no President save himself during the eight years of his administration, are, of course, the commonplaces of history and of popular knowledge; but he stood singularly apart from the controversies of his time, and left few marks of personal initiative in the field of constructive legislation.

What, then, is the secret of his abiding influence and his extraordinary hold upon the popular imagination? It is to be found, we think, first of all, in the moral seriousness of his life. Practical as was Washington's mental habit, life and life's work were nevertheless, to him, matters of serious and solemn concern; and he carried this spirit of seriousness and obligation into all of his multifarious occupations. It made him do his best in everything to which he set his hand, as it kept him, when his personal power had become supreme, alike from trifling and from self-seeking. It gave him patience and courage in the gloomy years of the struggle for independence, as it kept him, when the war was over, from posing as a soldier or demanding of the people a reward for his patriotism. It kept him from bestowing public offices as rewards of personal friendship or political service, and from administering the affairs of the republic in the interest of any one man or set of men. It kept him from yielding to the popular clamor for war with France, as it enabled him to brave popular denunciation over the treaty with England. It was his seriousness of mind, his sense of great responsibility, his conviction that power was but a trust committed to him by a confiding people, that lifted his career as a public man to a high plane, and made him walk there soberly. And it is this dominating moral sense, this pervading earnestness of purpose in the humblest political concern, that has appealed to succeeding generations with ever-increasing force.

To this quality of moral seriousness Washington added confidence in the people. But his was not the pernicious travesty which has so often passed current under that name. Washington never tolerated the notion, flaunted by some of his successors in the Presidential chair, that the voice of the people, whatever its tone or its message, was the voice of God; nor was his political philosophy summed up in "keeping his ear to the ground," in order to catch from afar the rumblings of popular approval or dissent. It never occurred to him to force, by political machinations, the semblance of a popular endorsement of his policy. Washington's belief was in the ultimate soundness of the popular judgment and the necessity of relying upon it in a democratic state. Yet no one realized better than he the inherent dangers of popular government, and the need of wise, courageous, and unselfish leadership if those dangers were safely to be met. And that leadership he gave with consummate skill and in supreme degree. Standing before a people just bursting into new life, he warned the nation of its obligations to itself, of the seriousness of the work before it, and of the perils of unsought and unnecessary foreign entanglements. He bade it live honestly, frugally, and industriously, maintain the public faith and credit, and do with intelligence and zeal the work intrusted to it. To do the present duty, to fill the present sphere, to seek no selfish aggrandizement, to shrink from no clear responsibility, and to fear God—this was Washington's message to his country; and to the embodiment of its ideals in his own life he never ceased to devote himself. It is the supremest tribute to the abiding soundness of his character that, in circumstances of limitless opportunity, we cannot even think of Washington as doing a selfish act.

We are persuaded that the lessons of Washington's life are not without their application to the America of our own day. No thoughtful person can deny that the marvellous progress of the century has been accompanied with an appreciable measure of political degradation. In the name of popular government and confidence in the people, we have seen our political organizations pass into the control of unscrupulous men, and arrogantly used for the advancement of selfish ambitions. We have seen laws passed, in State and nation, in defiance of the popular wish, and laws withheld in spite of long and earnest popular demand. We have seen our historic foreign policy abandoned, and the nation turned into new and untried paths, not because necessity was laid upon us, but because a few men willed it so. We have seen the moral sense of the people outraged, and corruption fastened upon the public service, by leaders who at the very time were calling upon Heaven to witness to the purity of their intentions. And why? Is it not because politics in the United States is not serious business? Is it not because our political representatives have come to regard the people in the light of counters with which to register the moves in the game, and no longer fear them as the ones before whom all political acts must ultimately be judged? It is to the old but long dishonored view of politics as a field for moral effort, and the people as a body able to divine motives as well as acts, that the life of Washington calls us back. In the long line of our Presidents he stands alone, a solitary figure, unselfishly devoted to the service of his people and his God. Will any one say that there is no need of such men now, or that the common people would not hear them gladly if once it were known that they dwelt among us?

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OUR POLICY IN THE PHILIPPINES.

The Associated Press last Thursday sent out an apparently authorized interview with Senator Lodge touching our national policy in reference to the Philippine Islands. Being chairman of the Senate committee having that subject in charge, his views may be assumed to represent the Republican party and the McKinley Administration. Mr. Lodge said:

"It will ultimately become the duty of the Philippine committee, I suppose, to deal with all questions connected with the islands, and to consider for submission to the Senate the policy which the United States should pursue in regard to them. But these are, of course, questions of the future. The paramount necessity of the present moment is the restoration of order in the islands, the ending of the war, and the extinction of the last embers of the insurrection, which has now degenerated into mere brigandage. This is all work for the army, and is an executive function. Until peace and order are absolutely restored, there ought not to be any congressional action. The only immediate duty for the committee that I can see now is to gather together and put into compact form all possible information in regard to the islands, so that when the time comes for congressional action, Congress may have all the knowledge obtainable which will enable it to act intelligently."

In other words, Mr. Lodge has no policy for the future disposition of the Philippines, and if he speaks for the Republican party and the Administration, they have none that they are prepared to announce. Mr. McKinley stands where he stood during his Western stumping tour, "having no policy to enforce against the will of the people." What the will of the people may be is equally uncertain. Judging from the November elections, the people would be inclined to follow the policy of the Administration if they knew what it was, and the Administration would be inclined to follow that of the people on the same condition. The only thing upon which there is general agreement is that peace must be restored in the islands. Until that is accomplished, freedom of opinion may be exercised, even in the Republican party, as to future policy. Senators Hoar, Mason, and Pettigrew have the same latitude as Senators Lodge, Cullom, and Frye.

In such a situation it is important to ask in what manner peace may be most easily and permanently secured. It is true that Aguinaldo has been driven into the mountains, and that his forces have for the time being disappeared. It is not believed, however, that peace will follow the dispersion of the insurgent army, which can come together as easily as it was put to flight. A guerilla warfare may last for years, as it did in Spain against Napoleon, and earlier when Viriathus and Sertorius successively led the mountain tribes in resistance to Rome. Neither glory nor profit is to be gained from such a war, while the loss of life on our own side from bush-fighting and assassination, such as we have deplored in the case of Lieut. Ledyard, ought to be avoided if possible. Hence the resolutions, introduced in the House by Representative Williams of Mississippi, possess immediate and far-reaching importance. The first resolution declares that

"it has always been our intent and purpose to recognize the inalienable rights of the Filipinos to self-government and national independence, and that in pursuance thereof we shall make formal recognition of these rights, and withdraw our land and sea forces upon the establishment of peace and the inauguration of a constitutional government or governments by the people of the islands, or any of them, provided the said government agrees, or the said governments agree, to refund the $20,000,000 which was paid by us to the Queen of Spain; to give us in fee simple, with right of sovereignty vested in us, a place suitable for a naval station and other places fitted for coaling stations, and to grant the American people in perpetuity the right of free access to all of their ports for goods, merchandise, and persons bent on peaceful or missionary pursuits."

The clause which requires the Filipinos to refund to us the $20,000,000 which we paid to Spain has a mercantile savor which ill befits an act of justice, and we therefore hope that it may be withdrawn by the mover or stricken out by the House before a vote is taken upon the question of principle presented. The payment of $20,000,000 was no affair of the Filipinos themselves. We paid that money to Spain to stop her lamentations, as a sugar plum is sometimes thrust into the mouth of a crying child. It was a dead loss to us, and one which we ought not to impose upon other people, least of all those who were the subjects of the trade. Aside from this consideration, why should not the resolution be adopted? Is there any reason except that it has been introduced by a Democrat and that it may possibly become one of the planks in the next Democratic platform? Is the Republican party prepared to repudiate the principles upon which the war with Spain was fought? It was declared at the outset that the war was not begun and would not be prosecuted for aggrandizement, that it was solely for the liberation of an oppressed people and for the suppression of intolerable evils at our own doors, and that when those ends were accomplished we would retire without any gain for ourselves. The only excuse offered for our retention of the Philippines has been the necessity of restoring order, and it has been assumed by those in authority that the only way to restore order was to fight and crush. Admiral Dewey has declared his belief that war was not necessary for the pacification of the islands. He has said more than once that the war might be ended now if the commanding officer were moved by a spirit of conciliation. His advice from the beginning has been generally in accord with the resolution offered by Congressman Williams. It is to be hoped that Senator Lodge's committee, when it gets to work, will send for the Admiral and ask him explicitly how he would restore peace. Whatever may be his present opinions, the honor of the American people stands committed against the forcible annexation of any unwilling peoples.

CHANGES IN PARTIES.

The vote by which the House of Representatives passed on Monday the currency-reform bill affords a striking illustration of the completeness and the speed with which changes come over parties in this country. It is hard to tell whether the majority or the minority in this instance furnishes the more impressive proof of this phenomenon.

The Republican party in the popular branch of Congress is now solidly, openly, and enthusiastically supporting the gold standard. Yet it is not five years since most of its Representatives in the House were afraid to utter the word "gold" above their breath, were protesting loudly that they were "warm friends of silver," and were trying to compromise by advocating the obviously hopeless scheme of "doing something for silver" through an international agreement for coinage at a fixed ratio. Only ten years ago this winter the man who is now President became the leader of the House in a Republican Congress, which passed an act that was hailed by the party as "a long step toward free coinage"; and for some years afterwards Mr. McKinley's favorite device on the stump was to denounce Mr. Cleveland as the friend of gold and the enemy of the people, because the Democratic leader then occupied the very position which he himself now takes.

At the same time with the unanimous vote of the Republicans in the House for the gold standard, the Democrats publish to the world the proof of a split in their own ranks. During the debate last week man after man on that side of the House arose to state the reasons why he could no longer support the Bryanite position. When some of their Republican colleagues tried to bait the Democratic members on Saturday, and challenged them to let a vote be taken on the "16 to 1" proposition, which was the cornerstone of their party's last national platform, two Democratic Representatives from the State of New York were prompt with their objections. Besides a number of Democratic voters for the Republican bill, there were many other Democrats who recorded themselves against it without any heart, and who envy their fellow-partisans who dared to come out openly for the gold standard.

The situation in the Senate is not materially different. The Republicans are assured of votes for the pending measure from their own side of the chamber which could not have been secured in the past. At least two Democratic Senators, Lindsay of Kentucky and Caffery of Louisiana, are as much

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opposed to the free coinage of silver as those Democratic Representatives who have broken with their party. Even the Southern Bourbons who have hitherto strenuously resisted financial progress, will make but a perfunctory fight this time. The reason which they frankly give for this change of attitude is that the business element of the South, like that of the North, is in favor of the pending bill. The Democratic press of that section is coming to endorse this position. Mississippi has been as hopelessly given over to the silver delusion as any State, but the Vicksburg *Herald* now says that "not only is the business element of the South in favor of the pending bill, but these Senators cannot fail to realize that the whole country is tired of the 16-to-1, calamity-currency agitation, and that obstructive tactics against the gold-standard bill would be regarded with decided disfavor by their constituents."

By a curious coincidence, at the very time that both parties are changing ground on the financial question, one can also see signs of an equally marked change among the majority toward another important issue in our politics. The composure and even approval with which the Republicans have accepted the deliverance of President McKinley in favor of free trade with Porto Rico shows that the party is quite ready to abandon the high-tariff position into which it has been pushed during the last dozen years, and return to its original attitude of indifference regarding this question, with a leaning toward a revenue tariff.

Men who voted for Frémont in 1856 will remember that the first national platform of the new political organization did not so much as mention the tariff. Only the insistence of Simon Cameron, as the spokesman of Pennsylvania, secured a plank on the subject in the platform of 1860, and that went no further than to declare that, "while providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country." Even this had dropped out in 1864, while by 1868 there was a demand that "taxation should be equalized, and reduced as rapidly as the national faith will permit," with never a word about the necessity of protecting labor. The most that was asked in 1872 was that, in raising revenue by duties upon importations, "the details should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor, and promote the industries, prosperity, and growth of the whole country."

One need not go half way back to 1856 to find the time when great Republican States in the West "took no stock" in a high tariff. In 1878 the Republicans of Ohio made their successful campaign upon a platform which declared that "a tariff for revenue should be maintained and so adjusted as to secure incidental protection to home industry." The next year the Republicans of Iowa reëlected Gov. (now Senator) Gear upon a platform which asserted that "we favor a wisely adjusted tariff for revenue." If President McKinley of Ohio, Speaker Henderson, and Senator Gear of Iowa now accept the principles of a revenue tariff, they are merely returning to the faith of the party founders and of its leaders in its early history.

The transformation of parties which we are now witnessing is full of encouragement. It shows that persistent agitation for the right, although it may sometimes seem for a long time to produce no effect, will at last bear fruit, and that one should never despair in a country where such revolutionary changes as we see in progress to-day are always possible.

THE ENEMY.

In Sir Wemyss Reid's 'Memoirs and Correspondence of Lord Playfair,' just published in this country by the Harpers, new light is thrown upon the settlement of our Venezuelan controversy with England. Playfair acted as an unofficial go-between and peacemaker. The letters which passed between him and Mr. Chamberlain, on the one hand, and Ambassador Bayard on the other, are now printed for the first time. They make most interesting reading, letting us behind the scenes as they do.

Playfair was happily pitched upon for unacknowledged negotiator. He had a warm interest in our country, and many friends here. Several of them appealed to him in the emergency. The letter which one "eminent American" wrote him on Christmas eve of 1895 is given in full in the 'Memoirs.' Mr. Chamberlain also urged him to see what could be done by private conference and negotiation. Accordingly, Lord Playfair, after an interview with the Colonial Secretary, saw Mr. Bayard, and left with him a memorandum which, in his opinion, offered the basis for an equitable agreement. It began by treating Mr. Cleveland's unhappy message as if it had never existed—that is, it pointed out that the President of the United States had made no reply to the last of Lord Salisbury's dispatches. It was as if one of two negotiators had left the room for a moment to relieve his feelings by uttering a loud yell outside. That was not germane to the discussion, which had better be resumed quietly, and Lord Playfair suggested bases on which the whole affair might be amicably adjusted, as, indeed, it was in the end.

Ambassador Bayard received Playfair's advances in the way that would be expected of his humane and lofty nature. His letters breathe of peace and the desire for it. In one of them, dated February 23, 1896, he gave it as an argument for a speedy coming to terms that, while a "most wholesome public sentiment" was showing itself on both sides of the Atlantic, and while this was encouraging international amity, "it also," he wrote, "*notifies the enemy.*" This is a very striking phrase. Who was the enemy? Whose hostile activity was it that Mr. Bayard so much dreaded? He does not explain, but it is perfectly clear whom he meant. It was not England; he was at the moment straining every nerve to secure peace with her, and was writing to one of her most distinguished sons. It was their common enemy—no particular nation, no foreign malice, no army afield or fleet with steam up, but the whole devilish spirit of Jingoism and brute love of war. It was the wicked press, the inflamed and reckless Representative, the banjo-patriot, the popularity-seeking clergyman, "the yells and counter-yells of faction" in either country, but more particularly in his own, that this high-minded statesman and lover of his kind had in his thoughts when he spoke of "the enemy."

Who can deny that he was right, and that the revived laudation of war in our time, and inflammatory incitements to it, constitute the true foe of civilized men and nations? This would have been a commonplace twenty years ago. War was then, to every thinking man, a mere monster out of the dark backward and abysm of time, trying to smear with its bloody hand the fairest trophies of peace and progress. We should all have shrunk then from entering upon a war not sternly necessary, as we should from the commission of a crime. But our ideals have been eaten into by events. The leading civilized nations have gone swarming over the earth seeing whose lands they might filch, and what native rights they might beat down with iron shard and reeking tube. Men cannot tolerate or encourage this sort of thing, least of all engage in it, without losing something of the fine considerateness, and the delicate regard for the dignity of human nature, however debased in appearance, which evolution has gone through its throes to produce in us. Yet so thin was our veneer of civilization that you had only to scratch us and the brute showed through. A fancied cause of war over Venezuela, the chance of fighting Spain, the opportunity to avenge Majuba and teach the Dutch who was master—that was enough to fill the Jingoes in America or in England with frenzied joy like Cetewayo's at the prospect of "washing the spears" of his *impi*. The horror and peril of this were, we say, part of the intellectual furniture of every educated man a score of years ago; but we have lived to see it apologized for, then excused as a necessary evil, and finally glorified as the noblest work of man! No wonder that Mr. Bay-

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ard wrote shuderingly of this mad eagerness for war as "the enemy."

But the whole Playfair incident happily illustrates also the resources of civilization against the barbarians who have arisen in its very midst. Men of light and leading, educators, scientists, writers, artists, are banded into a tacit International League against them. Lord Playfair's secret intervention in the name of both American and English science and humanity was a striking example of what Sir Michael Foster, in his Presidential address before the British Association, called the "deep undercurrent" in all branches of science, which is "sapping the very foundations of war." If one touch of science makes the whole world kin, it never does so more truly than in the universal brotherhood which is at once revealed in men of genuine enlightenment, as against the abettors and applauders of war. Science and art and literature start up instinctively to join hands against this common enemy. Knowledge and philanthropy rise to oppose it as they would to stamp out a plague, or relieve the victims of a famine or of a cataclysm of nature. If the Jingoes of pen and sword rage and imagine vain things, the quiet workers in science and the humane arts the world over set in motion their invisible armaments to bring to naught the machinations and the malice of the great enemy.

GOLD EXPORTS.

Whenever a war breaks out in the Old World, or is seriously threatened, there is a sudden demand for ready money by bankers and traders, who feel that they must be prepared for every emergency. There is a simultaneous decline in the foreign bourses. The securities of the countries in which, or near which, war is threatened shrink in value, often to a disastrous extent. American securities are those least affected by such panics. For that reason they are the ones first sold by foreign holders, who are compelled to strengthen their cash reserves at any cost. This has been one of the consequences of the war in South Africa. At first there was very slight disturbance of the money market. The war was considered an affair of sixty or ninety days. The expectation was commonly held that Gen. Buller would take his Christmas dinner in Pretoria. The remarks of the British Chancellor of the Exchequer indicated his belief that the war would be of brief duration, and would not call for much more money than the Treasury could supply by short loans in anticipation of the customary receipts.

Now, however, the situation is greatly changed. The British forces have met three defeats in succession, the last one the most disastrous of all, and the question now is not whether Gen. Buller shall take his Christmas dinner in Pretoria, but whether he shall have any Christmas dinner at all. The ominous conditions in Natal are instantly reflected in Lombard Street. The sale of American securities in London was active last week, bordering on panic last Saturday, and it resulted in the outflow of $2,200,000 gold by the last steamer. That it will be followed by other shipments is the expectation of those who keep watch of such matters, but the data for estimating the magnitude of the movement are very vague and inconclusive. It is the belief of those best informed that the amount of American securities held abroad by the classes likely to be pinched for money is very small. Stocks and bonds held strictly for investment will not be thrown over in a crisis like the present. On the contrary, the greater the danger abroad, the more firmly will this class cling to their American investments. There are other causes, however, which may influence the movement of gold at any time. The most potent one is the condition of the money markets here and abroad. A high rate of interest in London, concurring with a low rate here, will carry gold from us at any time, in peace or war.

It happens that we are now abundantly supplied with gold. If a "drain" is really coming, we are, taking the country as a whole, and looking to the Treasury as well as the banks, in a good position to meet it. According to the report of the Director of the Mint just published, the stock of gold in the country January 1, 1899, was $945,798,788, being a gain of $200,000,000 since the previous year. The gain appears in the following items:

Stock, January 1, 1898	$745,245,953
Net imports of United States coin	33,082,718
Coinage during the year	77,985,758
Gain in bullion in mints	94,770,430
Total	$951,084,859
United States coin remelted at mints	$1,330,741
Taken by paymasters to Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines	2,455,330
Used in manufactures	1,500,000
Total	$5,286,071
Stock, January 1, 1899	$945,798,788

Of this increase, $159,632,840 is in the national banks and the Treasury, as shown below:

Treasury, January 1, 1898	$197,767,142
National banks, Dec. 15, 1897	187,608,644
Total	$385,375,786
Treasury, January 1, 1899	$281,119,881
National banks, December 1, 1898	263,888,745
Total	$545,008,626
Gain in Treasury and national banks	$159,632,840

The difference between this and the aggregate gain estimated for the country, $40,919,995, is considered to have gone into State and private banks and general circulation. The gold coin and bullion in the Treasury eleven months later (December 1, 1899) was $390,652,000, a further gain of $109,000,000.

In the foregoing statistics it is assumed that the country contains $400,000,000 of gold not in the national banks and the Treasury. This is sometimes called invisible gold, and the question has been raised by statisticians of the first rank whether any such sum really exists. Prof. Roland P. Falkner questioned the accuracy of these statistics in the *Forum* of last August. It was then assumed by the mint authorities that there was $215,000,000 of gold in the hands of the people, and Prof. Falkner gave good reasons for thinking that there was $174,500,000 in banks other than national. The data by which the Treasury Department reached the conclusion that there was $215,000,000 in the hands of the people were shown by Prof. Falkner to be defective in neglecting the amount carried out of the country by American tourists visiting the Old World, or rather by assuming that this was offset by the amount brought in by immigrants. He made an independent estimate of the gold in the hands of the people by assuming that the amount so held is proportioned to the amount which they habitually offer for deposit in banks in the ordinary course of business. It was ascertained by a "census" of bank deposits taken July 1, 1896, that gold coin constituted 8.3 per cent. of the deposits, the remaining 91.7 per cent. being paper and silver. This census included the Rocky Mountain and Pacific Coast States, where gold coin was 69.4 per cent. of all the money deposited. In the other States the amount of gold was only 3.1 per cent. of the whole, and this corresponds pretty closely to one's observation of ordinary traffic. If we assume that the gold in circulation among the people corresponds in proportion to the gold among bank deposits, the total amount in circulation is not $215,000,000, but $69,648,469. In this case the total amount of gold in the country would be $145,351,531 less than the aggregate stated in the mint report for the present year. In other words, the total cannot be less than $900,000,000, and all of this is "visible gold" except $69,648,469. Evidently here is a stock from which a considerable sum may be spared without inconvenience to us.

THE FRENCH COLONIAL POLICY.

PARIS, November 30, 1899.

The press is supposed to be in all countries the most faithful expression of public opinion; one may ask with some reason if it has not for its object to deceive public opinion, or to give a false and exaggerated expression of it. Every country seems to have at present what you call in America a *yellow press*, by which you mean, if I am not mistaken, a sensational press, desirous of giving "news," whether true or false, and playing cynically on the curiosity of the public in times of general excitement. We had a period, too long a period, of such excitement during the various phases of the "affaire Dreyfus." This "affaire" marked a golden period for the newspapers, not only

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in France, but in other countries also; the fever was felt in Italy, in Germany, in Belgium, in Switzerland, in England. What characterizes these outbursts is their acuteness as well as the suddenness of the reaction which follows. The council of war of Rennes pronounced its sentence; the President of the Republic pardoned Dreyfus; we can now say, "Exit Dreyfus."

We had a similar period of excitement at the time of the Fashoda incident; it was fortunately very brief. A daring and brave French commander, Marchand, found himself on the Nile at the time when the victorious English army arrived from the north. The French commander had, with much difficulty, cut his way through central Africa, from west to east, and had arrived by way of the province called Bahr el-Ghazal at Fashoda, where he threw up some earthworks and planted the French flag. This expedition was unknown to the immense majority of the French, having been undertaken somewhat in the dark, without any positive instructions from the responsible ministers; but all questions in which the national flag plays a part immediately become perilous. The yellow press told the French that the honor of France was in question; the Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Delcassé, showed great moral courage in consenting to the withdrawal of Commandant Marchand from the untenable position which he held at Fashoda. If both Marchand and Lord Kitchener had been firebrands, if, instead of waiting patiently for instructions from London and from Paris, they had come to blows, a great war could not have been avoided between the two nations. Fortunately the French and the English commanders behaved with the greatest courtesy to each other, and took the orders of their respective governments.

When the English Ambassador visited M. Delcassé with an ultimatum in his pocket, it is said that M. Delcassé, well understanding what the nature of the ultimatum was likely to be, spoke in such a way that no ultimatum was presented. It is, however, not to be denied that for a moment there was serious danger of war with England. It is generally believed in France, rightly or wrongly, that England was all ready to present an ultimatum to France; at any rate, she asked for an immediate evacuation of Fashoda, and refused to enter into any negotiations, or to continue to negotiate before this evacuation had taken place. M. Delcassé had to explain his policy to the Chamber after the order of evacuation had been issued. There was hardly any discussion, and the Chamber felt for once that there are occasions when silence is the only dignified attitude. This silence of the Chamber, this resignation, may have given many the belief that France was indifferent to the Fashoda incident. This was an error. It was not so much the fact of the evacuation of Fashoda as the manner in which the English Government dealt with France, that created a sort of sullen irritation and discontent.

In a recent speech pronounced before the Chamber, on November 25, M. Delcassé thought it necessary to return to the Fashoda incident and to explain his conduct. He did it in these guarded terms:

> "You remember—and certain newspapers that make themselves the exploiters of national humiliation have taken care to remind you of it—a year ago there was an occasion to learn that designs are not meritorious in themselves, but are especially so by virtue of the choice of the hour when they are formed, and by the preoccupation of the means of execution. A local situation manifestly unequal, a comparison between certain sacrifices and problematical results, dictated to the Cabinet—which had no responsibility for this enterprise—a resolution which, though cruel, was perfectly honorable. The calm shown by the nation, its evident desire to decide solely according to its interests, helped it more in the eyes of the world than the angry resolutions which it was, perhaps, hoped it would be led into. And, three months afterwards, a treaty was signed which obtained the unanimous approval of the two Chambers, and which, far exceeding the wishes of the colonial party, added to our domain vast territories and realized the unity of our African empire."

These are wise words, and the treaty which was prepared by Lord Salisbury and the French Cabinet has added to our African possessions immense regions which establish a continuity of communication between the shores of the Mediterranean Sea and the shores of the Atlantic, on the western coast of the African continent.

The colonial party has become very insatiable in the French Parliament and the French press. We must go back to the years which followed the war of 1870 to see how this party grew in importance. It was the natural desire of Prince Bismarck to see France, if not reconciled to the loss of two of her provinces, urging her ambition and activity in new directions. He wished to have France *make a cross* (as the phrase is) in respect to Alsace-Lorraine, but he had to offer her compensations. It has always been said, and some future historian will find proof of it in our diplomatic archives, that Jules Ferry allowed himself to be approached by the tempter, and that he marked out the great lines of French colonial policy in accord with Prince Bismarck. The occupation and what may well be the conquest of Tunisia took place, notwithstanding the intense irritation of Italy; and Prince Bismarck obtained by this aggrandizement of France in Africa the means of drawing Italy into the Triple Alliance. France has not met in Tunisia the terrible resistance which she encountered in Algeria. Tunisia is a very prosperous colony, and the port of Biserta has been put in such a state that it may be considered the most important naval base on the Mediterranean Sea.

The colonial policy has been pursued, not without great difficulties, in Cochinchina, in Tonkin, in Madagascar. This great island, which, since the days of Louis XIV., had been looked upon with envy by all the naval Powers, is now a French possession, and all resistance, either from the natives, or from the other Powers, has come to an end. We must not forget New Caledonia, which was at first a mere penal settlement, but which has proved to be an invaluable possession by the richness and abundance of its mines, especially the nickel mines. I do not speak of the older colonies of France, of the establishments on the west coast of Africa, which have been extended for enormous distances; of the French islands in the West Indies. If we take in all the lands where the French flag floats at the present moment, we shall be struck by the dimensions of our colonial empire.

There are some drawbacks to the continual increase of our colonial possessions. Their defence necessitates an increase in the forces that have to be withdrawn from the Continental army, which may unexpectedly be called into action for the defence of the national territory. If, unfortunately, a European war began in which France would have to take part, the forces scattered in so many places could not easily be utilized, and might find themselves isolated, if a weighty naval Power were among the enemies of France. In the second place, statistics prove that the population of France does not tend to increase, and, therefore, there is not in France that surplus of population which has to find an outlet in colonies. These are looked upon, at least the greater part of them, less as large fields of colonization than as nurseries of public officials. They are refuges for all the *fruits secs* (dried fruit), to use a favorite French word, of politics, of the Administration. For the most prosperous of our colonies there are more foreigners than Frenchmen, or at least as many; and "sic vos non vobis" may be well applied to many.

The colonial policy may, besides, be regarded as a perpetual danger of war, if it is carried on with the vigor, the ardor, I might almost say the enthusiasm, of our *Colonials*. War might have broken out in Siam, in Madagascar, if it had not been for the prudence of certain statesmen; in Africa, the definition of the spheres of influence is not so perfect that those who care for their country, and who have a vivid sense of their responsibility, can ever be perfectly easy. These spheres of influence meet each other, and where the contact takes place, the European countries are not represented by *grave diplomats, but by daring officers*, who have a spirit of adventure and are intoxicated by the sense of what they consider a national neglect of opportunity.

The war in the Transvaal has furnished our yellow press a new occasion to vent its ill-humor against England and to fabricate false news. It cannot be denied that the English cause has excited no sympathy among the French people, and that there is an instinctive sympathy felt here for the Boers, who are courageous and who are defending their independence; but it would be a great mistake to suppose that France intends to take an active part in behalf of the Boers. The French obey merely the feeling so well expressed by Larochefoucauld, "There is always in the misfortune of a friend something that gives us pleasure." M. Delcassé took a statesmanlike view of the situation in this respect, as well as with regard to the differences in China. The Government has framed very clearly its policy; it intends to remain neutral, to avoid all difficulties and quarrels. It does not obey the artificial passions of the yellow press.

IMPRESSIONS IN THE MEXICAN HIGHLANDS.—III.

CHIHUAHUA, September, 1899.

The arid condition of the Mexican highlands follows as a natural consequence from the lofty mountain chains which wall them in from the influence of the oceans east and west. The moisture of the winds is precipitated on the seaward flanks of these ranges, and fails to reach the interior tablelands, except during the late summer and early autumn months, when, with changes in direction of the prevailing atmospheric cur-

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rents, and the supersaturated state of the air consequent upon the higher heat at this season, the zone of rains widens out and embraces the parched mesas of Chihuahua. This welcome change commences in the high sierras of the West. Gradually the rains creep eastward, dallying awhile in the valley of Guerrero, and then, breaking over the continental divide, pour grateful torrents upon the whole expanse of the plains. With their coming a miracle is wrought. The sombre desert, which had seemed past resuscitation, suddenly brightens into lively green; the dry, crisp secate is hidden under a lush growth of succulent, waving grass; myriads of flowers illuminate the landscape with gold and pink and snowy blossoms; even the gaunt, wiry thorn-bush softens its threatening aspect with a close-fitting garment of tiny leaves, and pins a scarlet bouquet on its coat.

The torpor that had invested life is broken, and activity is seen on every side. The lament of the arrieros and freighters over their worn-out, half-starved mules and burros is gone. They are no longer "flaco," but fill out their shrunken skins, and acquire a sleekness of coat which is quite surprising after their threadbare appearance in the dry season. The roads are full of teamsters now, and the animals respond more readily to the lashing and stone-throwing and voluble exhortation of their drivers (for the Mexican can never desist from such vain fatiguing efforts after speed). The plantations of corn and beans, too, are filled with slow-moving processions of oxen, dragging wooden ploughs guided by peones brilliant in their red sarapes. The whole landscape has flashed into color and life at the touch of the rain. But the season is brief; the showers soon cease, and the plains are scorched again to their wonted brown.

The mountains of the plain, however, serve as storage reservoirs for water, yielding it gradually through springs which encourage little streams that strike out boldly in arroyos across the mesas, only to succumb and be swallowed up ere long in their gravelly beds. Few of them reach the main drainage lines of the lower valleys, but the subterranean seepage feeds the larger rivers, giving them vitality throughout the year. These circumstances determine the distribution of population. The haciendas lie either huddled close up under the mountains, on the edges of the plains, or scattered in broken lines down the courses of the principal rivers. The mesas themselves are devoid of human habitations. These natural conditions tend to concentration of the people into communities, and this again favors the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a few. The agricultural lands at present available constitute a very small percentage of the total territory, wholly insufficient to sustain the existing population apart from the supplies of beef derived from the herds that feed on the elevated mesas. The raising of cattle, on the other hand, demands an extent of range which renders it uneconomical for very small herders to operate. Hence the control of large tracts of mesa inevitably and easily falls into the hands of the more opulent ranchers, and along with such acquisitions goes the accumulation of larger portions of the irrigable bottom lands to furnish corn and beans for the workers and the necessary mules and horses required to operate a great estate. It is a conspicuous feature of life on these Mexican highlands that the men who rise from humbler stations to independent fortune, commonly obtain their first secure foothold through shop-keeping and artisan employment in the municipalities, while the smaller ranches are constantly being absorbed into the greater. The instances of poor men carving their way to success through cattle-raising and farming, as has occurred so commonly throughout our own Great West, are here so rare as to be striking exceptions. In no respect is this a country for the poor man, though it offers excellent opportunities for energetic men with moderate capital. This latter circumstance affords a chance to the poor Mexican who sees in the town the possibility of acquiring enough to launch out on the career of ranching, which, in a region essentially pastoral, is naturally regarded as the most dignified and imposing that he could follow.

From such beginnings have arisen many of the princely estates that flourish in Chihuahua to-day. The extent of a few of these is so enormous that no statement of acreage would convey an adequate conception of their magnitude. You may travel for days, and cross ranges of mountains, and mesas that spread as far as the eye can reach, and still not pass beyond the domain of a single man. Throughout such an estate will be hundreds of ranches and an army of men, controlled as absolutely by this single hand as the vassals of old by their feudal lord. Just what the outcome of this will be is difficult to foretell. By the divisions of estates through inheritance there is ever at work a process of disintegration opposed to the tendency toward concentration. The irrigation engineer is also, here and there, striking out on broader lines, and rendering larger areas susceptible of cultivation; for the possibilities of irrigation on a large scale in these highlands have only begun to be realized. With the increase of tillable land, the power of resistance against absorption will be augmented for the small farmer, in which lies one strong hope of the masses. In this direction are general prosperity and true development more certain and easy of attainment.

But the struggle is a keen one, far keener than the superficial observer would imagine. The great proprietors for the most part seek constantly to strengthen their absolute domination. Although the freeholders may be few, they are like thorns in the flesh to the powerful ranchers. Since the conditions of life have forced the inhabitants to live in communities, these small independent holdings exist for the most part in the villages, and by reason of them the communities are able to secure municipal incorporation, and thus to retain the administration of the public affairs of the settlement in the hands of the people. The large landholder, on the contrary, is zealously striving to extinguish these petty possessions, in many cases offering sums enormously greater than their true worth to acquire them; and, when his purpose has been achieved, the municipal corporation is wiped out and he becomes supreme. The persistence with which these small properties are retained, when their owners are often without visible means of support, suggests that their fellow-townsmen sustain them as a means of preserving the civil privileges of all, with their consequent advantages in dealing with the man to whom they look as the only source of employment.

It cannot be said that the peones are oppressed or ill-treated. Neither are their liberties infringed in the same manner as one may see in many other Latin republics. But the way to prosperity is barred quite effectually by the conditions established on the large ranches. The working people build their own houses on ground set apart for this purpose by the proprietor, but the houses thus built belong to the original owner of the land. A general store is also maintained at the hacienda, and it fares ill with any employee who ventures to patronize a local competitor. It is impossible, however, to make these restrictions effective against the competition of the merchants in the towns, owing to the comparative ease of communication, so that a state of practical enslavement by absorption of earnings is not imposed here as it is in the great fluvial districts of South America. There is a certain freedom and independence inherent in life on extensive open plains which no human contrivances can altogether eradicate.

Another effect of the modern tendency toward concentration of great areas into one estate is, that direct personal supervision on the part of the owner is impossible, and, where the landed proprietors are not originally residents of the cities, the growth of wealth leads to new wants, social, educational, and material, which can be satisfied only by removal to the city. Hence the evil of non-resident proprietorship is rapidly spreading. Syndicate ownership is only beginning, and perhaps as between these two the latter is the best for the people. The rigid accounting for all expenditures and receipts which the syndicate system involves, brings upon the ground representatives of the company whose administration is more nearly like that of a resident owner. On the whole, it seems to afford less opportunity for abuse to creep in than does the system of overseers for private owners. Control of the ranches by syndicates seems destined to increase very rapidly in the next few years, largely owing to the improvement in transportation facilities.

Two railroads are now pushing into the highland region west of Chihuahua. The Casas Grandes line starts from Ciudad Juarez, the Mexican port of entry just across the Rio Grande from El Paso, serving the northwestern portion of the mesa country of Chihuahua, and having tributary to it a promising mineral district in the Sierra Madre. The Ferrocarril de Chihuahua al Pacifico has nearly completed its permanent way from the city of Chihuahua to Guerrero, a distance of 150 miles, and will throw its line open to traffic within a few months. It has already begun to influence commerce on the plains by operating to Santa Isabel, which cuts off the most difficult forty miles of the old *camino real* or highway from Chihuahua to the great mountains of the West. Its first effect has been to reduce the trade of the merchants in Santa Isabel upwards of 50 per cent., according to their own statement. This is largely, of course, because of the novelty of going to Chihuahua, which can now be done so easily and cheaply. It will not last, but the disturbance of old ways and conditions of life and trade among a large population, whose ideas and methods must

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now change with the disappearance of the lumbering stage-coach and tedious mule-wagons and ox-carts, will be so wide-reaching and powerful that many must succumb.

In anticipation of the new order of things a tide of immigration has already set in—speculators, mechanics, merchants, and innkeepers. Americans, Germans, Italians are on the ground with fresh stocks of goods which are enticing trade away from the older Mexican shopkeepers so rapidly that some of these have already closed out their business, in whole or in part, and are seeking to retrieve their fortunes by a desperate grasp after available ranches, or by embarking upon small manufacturing ventures. The advent of the railroad has also raised the price of labor and caused a shortage of men for working the haciendas. Though the end will be an immense gain to the country, and to the poor people in particular, it is not without present hardship to many who find it awkward to change to the quickstep of the new industrial régime, and sigh vainly for the vanishing good old times. Unrest is in the air; that unrest which comes like a demon to torment those who are caught in the bustle and nervous strain that accompany the railroad and modern improvements. On the surface of things it is not yet visible, but upon intercourse with the people it is promptly discovered. Their minds are vexed with problems and schemes. Less labor must be employed, and the ranches must be made more productive. There are chances to make money by cutting and hauling wood to the railroad; for the mountains, both those that intersect the plains and the Sierra Madre, yield a scrubby growth of oak which will now have an increased value. Chihuahua depends almost wholly upon wood for fuel, brought in on the backs of burros, and sold at two cents (Mexican money) a stick—poor little sticks less than a metre long and no bigger than a man's arm. The railroad will drive the burros, let us hope, to pleasant pastures, where their pitiable gall-sores may at length be healed. Then the mines will flourish as they have never done before, and this means contracts for wood and mine timbers, for meat and corn and beans, to be let to those who are enterprising and influential enough to secure them. Inducements will be offered for the raising of hogs for a pork-packing venture that is much heralded by the railroad people; and as not to go forward means to go backward, this entails more feed to fatten porkers and more arable land on which to raise the food. It narrows down to a question of obtaining water rights, of building ditches, of raising money for it all, with the anxiety of mortgages to offset the pleasant anticipation of possible profits.

Is there any wonder that the old-fashioned hidalgo, set in the ways of oxcarts and wooden ploughs, accustomed to a horde of men ready to serve him in the raising of cattle and sheep, with no fear for the morrow, and nothing to worry over but the prospects of rain to fill his irrigation ditches, should view with some trepidation the revolution of steam and flying trains? But his sons and daughters are ready for it. To them it holds out the promise of better days. Many of them have been away to school, have caught the ideas of the towns and of their Yankee friends across the border. The boys already have their bicycles and the girls their Paris bonnets. Let the old Don still wear his sarape when he goes for a walk in his garden (where his city cousin cannot see), and his sturdy señora resolutely adhere to her mantilla! They must make concessions somewhere, for the outer world has rushed in upon them. They have done the pioneer work. Unconsciously, as they have driven back the Indian, and turned the forts into storehouses, and subdued the land to peaceful, if sluggish, industry, they have prepared the way for what they see to-day. They have even reflected in their own lives' endeavors more of the spirit of the age than they have supposed. Their monopolistic tendencies have been as keen as those of the coal and sugar barons. They have sought absolute control of vast areas of land; they have understood the advantages now and then of getting a corner on the two great staples of their region, corn and beans. Meantime, their brethren in Chihuahua have been advancing along the same lines. Manufacturing of many kinds, woollen mills, foundries, smelters, and the rest, have been steadily falling into the hands of a few. New industries are certain of success chiefly by being controlled by these powerful monopolists. Even the railroad is dominated by them. Your banking must be done over their counters. It is merely a change from the rural to the urban monopolist, but it is momentous, for upon its heels will follow a transformation of the whole country. The old pastoral supremacy is passing away, and the cities and towns are becoming the centres of commercial and political power, in common with the rest of the civilized world. The drift to the towns, as pointed out before, has been going on for many years; the poor seeking opportunities for larger earnings, the rich striving after social advancement and the luxuries which are difficult to provide in the country.

The changing conditions, then, are a natural growth, not due to the innovations of foreigners. The foreign influence, however, has been important. Many of the leaders in the new industrial life of Chihuahua are men with German blood in their veins. The Americans and English have not struck root into the soil of the country in the same manner. Here, as elsewhere in Spanish America, the Anglo-Saxon has either held himself aloof (perhaps, more correctly, through his own fault has been held aloof) from the native population in the higher social circles, or, when he has made a matrimonial alliance, has usually taken a wife of social station inferior to his own. The Anglo-Saxon insists upon making of himself a stranger in strange land, with no intention of doing more than to amass money to carry home again. The German, on the contrary, makes common cause with the people in the land of his adoption; assumes no airs of superiority; pays due deference to local customs and ideas; and so is received into the homes and hearts of the nation. He builds deep and broad, and you cannot shake the structure he rears. This German influence has manifestly been powerful in Chihuahua, and much of the substantial progress of the State has been due to it. Still, the Mexican has not been devoid of initiative. He is naturally clever at finance, and quick to perceive an opportunity for money-making, and, though instinctively conservative, he has been persistently adapting the improvements of modern life to his own needs. Up to a certain point, progress is necessarily slow, but in Chihuahua development has been carried to a point beyond which it must proceed with great rapidity. The State possesses a most salubrious climate, and is richly endowed with mineral wealth. Irrigation will vastly increase its agricultural possibilities, while its mesas will afford pasturage for much larger herds of cattle and sheep than occupy them to-day. The city of Chihuahua has risen to 40,000 inhabitants, and is growing constantly with the inauguration of new industries. The State gives evidence of having entered a period of permanent prosperity, and the opportunities for profitable investment appear to be numerous.

Correspondence.

OUR ISLANDS AND THE TARIFF.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The discussion over the President's recommendation of free trade with Porto Rico reminds me of a letter lying in my desk from an attorney whose father was a prominent member of Congress forty years ago. I had expressed to him my views against expansion, and expected an answer in the same tenor, but he told me that, as a free-trader, he could not oppose a policy which was certain to result in the promotion of the cause of free trade. So far as the islands themselves are concerned, this is certain to be the result. In the first place, the chances are very strong that a decision of the Supreme Court will compel it as soon as the transition period of military occupation is definitely over. Ordinary politicians can easily enough overrule their former decisions, but the Supreme Court is not yet composed of ordinary politicians. Indeed, is not the most probable explanation of the President's recommendation to be found in his reluctance to face the possibility of a decision on this point before the next election?

But, aside from a compulsory court decision, there is no ground to suppose that a tariff barrier can be set up against any islands which we may permanently annex. There has never been a time when about half the people of the country have not been against the tariff policy, and those naturally against it in any case will be largely reinforced by men who are willing to use it against foreign peoples, but will never consent to see it used to the disadvantage of peoples whom we have seized upon with the expressed intention of administering their affairs for *their* good, not our own. The protectionists who have been shouting for the McKinley policy during the past year have been late in awakening to these plain facts, but they will realize them fully enough in the near future. "We must take things as they are, and make the best of them," is a favorite dictum of the expansionist clergymen just now. Well, if we *must* take things as they are now going in this island business, those of us who are free-traders will find the *best* of it—in fact the only good of it—in the enormous blow at protectionism; and we shall take a grim satisfaction in the fact that the blow was dealt by a President who, previous to his election, had connected his name with no public policy whatever but high tariff, and who could not wait for a regular session of Congress in order to get his tariff views

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into legislation. If McKinley would lie off for the next four years, he might make a very good free-trade candidate for the Presidency by 1904. W. H. JOHNSON.

SIR THOMAS BROWNE'S PROPHECY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In lately turning over the pages of Sir Thomas Browne's 'Miscellany Tracts,' (Wilkin's ed., vol. iv., p 114 sqq.) which were published in 1684, two years after his death, I came upon one which I had quite forgotten, and which in past years was not likely to hold the careful attention of any reader. In the light of the last two years, however, it becomes interesting, and affords striking evidence of Sir Thomas's perspicacity. It is entitled "A Prophecy." A prediction more than two centuries old seldom comes true in so many of its particulars. Perhaps some of your readers may be interested in the following passages. The Prophecy is in verse, and is followed by an exposition in prose:

"When New England shall trouble New Spain,
. . . . . .
When Africa shall no more sell out their blacks,
To make slaves and drudges to the American ntracts,
. . . . . .
When America shall cease to send out its treasure,
But employ it at home in American pleasure,
"When the New World shall the Old invade,
Nor count them their lords, but their fellows in trade,
. . . . . .
Then think strange things are come to light,
Whereof but few have had a foresight."

The exposition of the verse "When New England shall trouble New Spain" is as follows:

"That is, when that thriving colony which hath so much increased in our days and in the space of about fifty years that they can, as they report, raise between twenty and thirty thousand men upon an exigency, shall, in process of time, be so advanced as to be able to send forth ships and fleets, and to infest the American-Spanish ports and maritime dominions by depredations or assaults; for which attempts they are not likely to be unprovided, as abounding in the materials for shipping. And when length of time shall so far increase that industrious people that the neighboring country will not contain them, they will range still farther, and be able in time to set forth great armies, seek for new possessions. . . .Wherein it is not likely that they will move northward, but towards the southern and richer countries which are either in the dominions or frontiers of the Spaniards; and may not improbably erect new dominions in places not yet thought of, and yet, for some centuries, beyond their power or ambition."

On the verses,

"When America shall cease to send forth its treasure,
And employ it at home in American pleasure,"

the exposition is:

"That is, when America shall be better civilized, new policied, and divided between great princes, it may come to pass that they will no longer suffer their treasure of gold and silver to be sent out to maintain the luxury of Europe and other parts, but rather employ it to their own advantage in great exploits and undertakings, magnificent structures, wars, or expeditions of their own."

"When the New World shall the Old invade"—

"That is, when America shall be so well-peopled, civilized and divided into kingdoms, they are like to have so little regard of their origins, as to acknowledge no subjection unto them. They may also have a distinct commerce between themselves, or but independently with those of Europe, and may hostilely and piratically assault them, even as the Greek and Roman colonies after a long time dealt with their original countries."

Very truly yours, A. BROWNEIST.

December 16, 1899.

THE KENTUCKY ELECTION BOARD.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Permit me to correct a statement made in your issue of December 14 concerning the election in Kentucky. The State Election Board is composed of three members, all of them being Democrats. Capt. Ellis and Judge Pryor, the two members who voted to give the certificate of election to Taylor, Republican, are both lawyers; Poyntz, the third member, has no legal training whatever, and is a pliant tool and bitter partisan of Goebel's. B. F.

LOUISVILLE, December 16, 1899.

ANDREW JOHNSON ON SECESSION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Boutwell's "Reminiscences of Andrew Johnson" in the current *McClure's Magazine* are valuable because the writer himself was *magna pars* of the events described. It is, however, surprising that he should doubt whether President Johnson was "a disbeliever in the right of a State to secede." "Nor is there evidence within my knowledge," says Mr. Boutwell, "that he ever denied the right of secession."

In a speech delivered on December 18 and 19, 1860, in the Senate, Mr. Johnson made an unanswerable argument against the right of secession: "Now let me ask, Can any one believe that, in the creation of this government, its founders intended that it should have the power to acquire territory and form it into States and then permit them to go out of the Union?" He named seriatim the several States which at that time threatened rebellion, told how they had been organized, explained what public moneys had been expended in them by the national Government, and reiterated, repeatedly his view that they could not go out of the Union. In fact, because he denied the possibility of secession, he afterwards maintained that the rebel States never had been out of the Union, and hence, on the question of their reconstruction, he antagonized the Senate and the mass of the Republican party—a course that led to his attempted impeachment.

DAVID JESSUP DOHERTY, M.D.

CHICAGO, December 4, 1899.

BOOKS AND THE TIMES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: While we may judge the character of a people by the songs they sing, a more important index in this reading age is the books they read. A study of the May-December 'Cumulative Book Index,' containing a classified list of American books published in that interval—and publishers print what will be read—reveals some interesting facts. The most interesting fact is the vast vogue of Kipling, the only author approaching him in number of entries being Shakspere. Another notable fact is the vogue of Omar Khayyám, he easily coming third as poet. Kipling, Shakspere, Omar Khayyám—truly a strange conjunction, which has not only literary, but also moral and religious significance. It is manifestly unfair to Kipling to compare such a collection of authors as the Bible with him alone, yet the entries under "Bible" are scarcely a third more in number. Of the older novelists, Dickens leads with 14 entries, Scott has 12, George Eliot 10, Thackeray 8.

HIRAM M. STANLEY.

LAKE FOREST UNIVERSITY LIBRARY,
December 16, 1899.

EARLY MENTION OF GIPSIES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: No direct proof of the presence of gipsies in Western Europe before 1417 has as yet been given. I think I have discovered one. In Roger Bacon's 'Opus Majus' (Oxford, 1897, vol. ii., p. 211), which was written in 1266, there is a discussion of the theriac, after which Bacon speaks of the corresponding sovereign remedy of the Ethiopians:

"The reptile that the Æthiopians eat is the dragon, as David says in the Psalm, 'Thou gavest him to be meat to the people of the Æthiopians.' For it is well known that wise Æthiopians have come to Italy and Spain and France and England, and those countries of the Christians where there are good flying dragons, and that by occult arts which they possess, they drive the dragons out of their caves, and they have saddles and bridles in readiness, and ride on them, and urge them in the air to swift flight, so that the rigidity of their flesh is weakened, and its toughness reduced, just as boars and bears and oxen are baited by dogs and tormented by various persecutions before they are killed for eating. After they have thus reduced them, they have an art of preparing their flesh, even as the art of preparing the flesh of the tyre, and they partake of it against accidents of old age, and prolong their lives and make their intellects subtle beyond all estimation."

Leaving out all the legendary matter, it is evident that Bacon is trying to account for the presence of a dark-skinned race in Western Europe which is versed in magic arts. There is no possibility of applying this description to any other people but the gipsies. When we consider that later they were generally believed to be Egyptians, that they were supposed to come from "little Egypt," that they foretold the future, no doubt can remain of the identity of Bacon's Æthiopians with the gipsies.

LEO WIENER.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., December 15, 1899.

THE SMALL COLLEGE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: While I believe that the position taken in your editorial on the small colleges is in the main correct, it seems to me that some of your conclusions are open to question. In a country like ours, where traditions have such a slight hold, it is impossible to predict what changes may take place in public opinion even a very few years hence, but it is reasonably certain that, for a good many years to come, the small college will continue to hold a place in our educational economy. An examination of the catalogues of our largest universities reveals the fact that a considerable portion of their patronage is, to a certain extent, local. This is equally true of the small and the smallest colleges. I was recently informed that there are three degree-conferring institutions in a single county in this

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State attended by nearly one hundred students each. Many young people, for lack of means or for other reasons, get what education they can near home and are content with it.

While it is true, as a general rule, that the strongest teachers are found in the largest institutions, there is hardly a small college in the country whose faculty does not contain one or more who are equal to the best. And the number is more likely to increase than to diminish. The competition is becoming harder year by year. Many young people who have been trained for university work are constrained to accept such positions as they can get, and are often found in our high schools. Yet they prefer the college, even at a less salary, because the chances of promotion are believed to be better. Besides, there are many small colleges whose equipment is ample in all the appliances necessary for a general education. It is not putting the case too strongly to say that if their undergraduate courses are not equal in scope, they are equal in value, to those of the largest universities. Many graduates of these institutions enter the professional schools of the larger ones and form a considerable part of their attendance. While it is true that the universities are growing faster than the colleges, it is hardly correct to say that they are growing at the expense of the latter. Their growth is chiefly along lines upon which there is no competition, except among peers. I believe it is safe to say that some of the colleges have grown faster relatively than the universities.

Our experience corresponds with that of most European countries. Wherever a new university is started it is patronized. The strength of the attraction it exerts can be measured by its proximity. Furthermore, denominational loyalty still counts for a great deal in this country. It often magnifies the merits of particular schools at the expense of better ones, and is no inconsiderable factor in the influence it exerts on intending students. This loyalty is also a large factor in securing gifts and bequests. On the whole, I can see no reason to believe that the future of any college worthy of the name and situated in the eastern half of the Union is likely to be seriously jeopardized within the next two or three decades.

Respectfully yours, C. W. SUPER.

ATHENS, O., December, 1899.

Notes.

The Macmillan Co. are to undertake a uniform edition of James Lane Allen's works. In the spring they will publish 'The Dream-Fox Story-Book,' by Mrs. Mabel Osgood Wright.

Mr. J. F. Muirhead's benevolent 'Land of Contrasts: A Briton's View of his American Kin,' has changed hands, and now, in its second, somewhat glorified edition, bearing the imprint of John Lane, makes a fresh appeal to public favor. Mr. Richard W. Hale's 'Dreyfus Story' (Boston: Small, Maynard & Co.) has deservedly passed to a third edition, and is still a light burden for the pocket in spite of all that is compressed in it.

While the excellent Eversley Edition of Shakspere proceeds with volumes viii. and ix. (Macmillan), the same firm markets for J. M. Dent & Co. Mr. Gollancz's "Larger Temple Shakspere," based on the Cambridge text. We now have, over and above the smaller Temple, a pictorial glossary, and many illustrations elsewhere, antiquarian and topographical. The two volumes before us are well calculated to captivate the purchaser. The typography is bold, and the whole letter-press tasteful and ornamental.

Carlyle's "Shooting Niagara: and After?" opens the fifth volume of his Critical and Miscellaneous Essays in the Centenary Edition of Messrs. Scribner, the last in that sub-series and last and thirtieth in the main. "The Early Kings of Norway" is also here, and the discussion of the portraits of John Knox, with six examples.

The Scribners import 'Johnson Club Papers' (London: Unwin), by various members of the said club, which dates from 1884. Two of the papers are by G. B. Hill, Prior of the club, and, we should say, Pontifex Maximus of all living Johnsonians; another is by Mr. Augustine Birrell, who might well sign himself with Jowett, *Johnsonianissimus;* one by Lionel Johnson, and the dozen others by less well-known and less competent pens. All are published now, the preface assures us with jocose solemnity, at the "earnest request of friends." They are pleasant reading, but what, perhaps, gives its chief value to the volume is the score of illustrations, covering portraits, Johnson's various lodgings, his pew in St. Clement Dane's Church, inscriptions, facsimiles, etc.

John Leech may be deemed the progenitor of the late Mr. M. A. Woolf on that side of humorous art reflected in 'Sketches of Lowly Life in a Great City' (Putnams). The sentiment and pathos of the street Arab are displayed in ample measure in this large collection, partly hitherto unpublished, but mostly reproduced from *Life* and *Judge*. Mr. Woolf's kindly face—it might seem smiling at his own prenomen of Michael Angelo—forms the frontispiece to the sketches, with the character of which we must suppose our readers to be familiar.

'Kemble's Sketch-Book' (R. H. Russell) deals mainly with that Darkest Africa in our population which Mr. Woolf, we believe, was color-blind to. At least we do not recall a black face in any of his pictures of the denizens of the gutter. Mr. Kemble's long practice with the class of colored Americans makes his studies of them true and often very effective. But his work this time embraces also white representatives of Cape Cod, Kentucky, and Louisiana. From the same firm we have 'Plantation Sketches,' by J. Campbell Phillips, in which there is a certain amount of fairly good drawing, but not enough of either beauty or humor to justify the publication.

From Mr. Russell we receive also a reprint of Bunyan's 'Life and Death of Mr. Badman,' with twelve drawings by the brothers Rhead, which are of more even quality than the same artists' illustrations of the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' being neither so good as the best, nor so bad as the worst, of these latter.

A charming holiday book which is late in reaching us is 'In Summer Time,' by Robert Reid (R. H. Russell). These reproductions of paintings do not, of course, retain the beauty of color which is one of Mr. Reid's best qualities, but even in black-and-white much grace of arrangement and feminine charm is visible. While not precisely a draughtsman, Mr. Reid succeeds in suggesting beauty of form and movement in an increasing degree. He is a hard worker at his profession and a man of real talent, and is therefore steadily advancing. These reproductions are of his best and most recent work, but not, we think, of the best work he is likely to do.

'Rembrandt and his Work,' by Malcolm Bell (London: George Bell & Sons; New York: Macmillan), is somewhat drily written. The biographical part is founded mainly on Michel, and there is very little criticism, most of the space being taken up by a mere mention of works in their respective years, not interesting to read, and hardly worth writing, as the chronological lists give all the information in briefer form. The chapters on the etchings are better than those on the paintings. The text is illustrated with eight good photogravures and a large number of fair half-tone plates. The catalogues and other apparatus are, on the whole, the best part of the book.

We do not greatly care for the idea embodied in 'Great Pictures Described by Great Writers' (Dodd, Mead & Co.). The great pictures are not all great, and the great writers did not always know much about art, while the choppiness of a book which is all "quotations" is extremely irritating.

We have not been able to examine at any length Christina J. Herringham's translation and annotation of Cennino Cennini (Francis P. Harper), but this book of old recipes and methods of painting should prove useful and interesting. In these days of technical experimenting, its publication may lead to further attempts to revive Tempera.

The two latest volumes in Prof. Gardner's series of "Handbooks of Archæology and Antiquities" (Macmillan) are 'The Roman Festivals in the Time of the Republic,' by W. Warde Fowler, Sub-Rector of Lincoln College, and 'Greek and Roman Coins,' by G. F. Hill of the British Museum. Both are helps for the student; neither will be found of interest by the general reader. The former takes up the festivals in the order of Ovid's *Fasti*, confining itself, so far as possible, to the treatment of the native Roman religion. Within its narrow limits (for both works are small) it can do little more than recite what the Romans actually did, so far as we can learn it or guess it, on the occasions of public ceremonial, attempt some brief explanation of origins of cults, and refer the student to the sources or to monographs for further information. This task—for Mr. Fowler seems to consider it little but a task—is conscientiously performed, and the volume will be found useful as an outline for classes engaged on its perplexing subject. Mr. Hill's book is meant "chiefly as a guide to put students of antiquity in the way of bringing numismatics to bear on their difficulties." Such a handbook was greatly needed; for in these days, when classical studies are popularly supposed to be dead, the constantly increasing number of students of classical philology find some acquaintance with coins really a necessity in their literary as well as archæological studies. They have here an excellent letter of introduction to such an acquaintance.

To the International Critical Commentary there has now been added a fourth Old Testament volume, 'Proverbs,' by Prof. Toy of

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Harvard (Charles Scribner's Sons). It is marked by the careful detail and the exact scholarship which we expect from its author. One bit of criticism must be applied to the bibliography: it is quite inadequate in extent. And also, while we recognize that the non-popular character of these proverbs is acknowledged, we are surprised that an Arabist should not have seen that their true parallel is not the 'Amthāl' of al-Maydānī, but such a book as the 'Atwāq adh-dhahab' of az-Zamakhsharī, with its sententious moralizing, delighting in enigmatic literary expression.

Parts xx. to xxiii. of Poole's 'Historical Atlas of Modern Europe' (H. Frowde) maintain on the whole the excellence and interest of the earlier parts, and bring this great work within measurable distance of completion. Mr. Rhodes's series of French maps is increased by Gallia Sacra (xx.), and Mr. Stanley-Lane-Poole continues his series with Western Asia under the Mongols A. D. 1330 (xx.), and Western Asia under the Turks and Persians (xxiii.). Prof. Prothero is responsible for a map of Europe, 1814-1863 (xx.), whose execution, in particular whose coloring, is a delight to eyes long tortured by the ugly and unnecessary crudity of reds and yellows which seem to be the delight of most Continental cartographers. Prof. Bury contributes but one map to this present group, Southeastern Europe and Asia Minor c. 1210 (xxi.). A double page of the Reformation and Thirty Years' War (xxiii.) is the work of the Rev. J. P. Whitney, while Dr. Julius Friedrichs supplies a useful map of the Netherlands (xxi.). The four Eastern Patriarchates c. 750 is the work of Mr. E. W. Brooks (xxii.). Mr. H. A. L. Fisher makes his most elaborate contribution to the Atlas thus far in a double-page Central Europe 1795-1810 (xxii.), each page containing two maps, and the series comprising Central Europe from the Peace of Basle (1795) to the War of the Second Coalition (1799-1801); from the Peace of Lunéville (1801) to the Decree of the Imperial Diet (1803); from the establishment of the French Empire (1804) to the abolition of the German Empire (1806); and from the Peace of Tilsit (1807) to the war with Austria (1809). The map of European Colonies and Dependencies after the Peace of Utrecht, by Mr. H. E. Egerton (xxi.), is not, perhaps, worse than many such that have come from Continental editors, but, like its predecessors, it makes one regret that this series could not have been put in the hands of some scholar on this side of the Atlantic. To note but two points—there seems no adequate reason to divide Louisiana and Canada after the Treaty of Utrecht by such a blank as that which fills the large map from the Arkansas to Lake Michigan, and from the Appalachians on the East to infinity on the West, contradicting the inset, which in that respect is more nearly correct; nor again, on the inset map, to omit the Maumee River, the *raison d'être* of Fort Miami, to put that fort far north of its real position, and by these and other errors to destroy the continuity of that series of fortifications which held the most important strategic line west of Duquesne.

In the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* for December, Prof. Hart's showing of the steady growth of the university contrasts strongly with Mr. W. C. Lane's "Plain Facts about the Library" over which he presides. "Harvard has never yet received any great gift for a library building," he says, in the same number that records Major Higginson's gift of $150,000 for a building to constitute a university club—the proposed Harvard Union. It would be difficult to overrate the utility of this benefaction locally, and it also adds one more to the brilliant innovations which have distinguished President Eliot's administration and have set the pace for other universities. Nevertheless, it remains a singular anomaly that the very heart and lungs of our first institution of learning should languish for want of a suitable tenement, and that the generosity of its alumni and friends should in this particular have fallen far short of that manifested on behalf of Cornell, Princeton, and Columbia. Even the conditions of the daily service of the library, as exhibited by Mr. Lane, are disgracefully cramped and embarrassing.

"Germany is enjoying an era of unprecedented activity, if not prosperity," is the testimony of our Consul at Chemnitz, and naturally considerable space is devoted in the Consular Reports for November to various German industries, as hosiery, beet-sugar, and electric plants. Among other subjects touched upon are German Government pawn-shops, and the rich natural resources of Asiatic Russia, mainly in wheat land, coal, iron, and gold: "Exclusive of the Ural gold-fields, there are 851 places in the empire where gold is found," nearly half being in Eastern Siberia. There is also a significant warning from our Consul at Batavia in respect to the "mining bubble" in Dutch India, addressed to intending investors, who are advised "not to touch a share," and to contractors, "for if a Dutch company chooses to break a contract with a foreigner, there is practically no redress."

The *National Geographic Magazine* for December opens with an interesting account, by Mr. Walter Wellman, of his recent expedition to Franz Josef Land and unsuccessful "dash" for the Pole. Its scientific results were the exploration of the eastern part of the archipelago and the discovery of some twenty islands, and "a most painstaking study of the aurora borealis" by Mr. E. B. Baldwin of the Weather Bureau, who also contributes an outline of the scope and character of the meteorological work of the expedition. This is followed by a sketch of the Harriman Alaska expedition, in which especial attention was paid to the glaciers, and the conclusion was reached that they are "still retreating. The next generation will find few of them with their fronts still in the sea, discharging bergs. The thunder of the glacier, as it breaks off into the sea, will soon be no more heard in the land." Accompanying this number is a large map of the scene of military operations in South Africa, prepared for the use of the War Department. It shows in detail the military roads, mountain passes, and other features necessary to a clear understanding of the country.

"America and Americans" is the title of a suggestive article in the *Annales de Géographie* for November, in which a recent traveller, A. Oppel, attempts to answer the question whether America, meaning the United States, is worthy the love and admiration bestowed upon it by the people. He examines first its physical characteristics, the rocks, water, air and light, plants and animals, and concludes that no race has ever received a land so rich in beauty and natural resources. Then he goes on to inquire how we have improved our goodly heritage, first dwelling upon the wanton destruction of game and forests, then passing in review the various agricultural and mineral industries, and comparing the results with similar industries in Europe. Referring to the part which the railway has borne in the development of the country, he closes this first part of his article with the following tribute to the American as a man who, "whether workman or contractor, exhibits a consuming haste and winged mobility of spirit, which appears to the European feverish and unhealthy, but which is only the expression of the will that animates this whole people in its effort to triumph over the immense spaces which it seeks to develop." Other articles are the conclusion of Prof. W. M. Davis's exposition of the peneplain, an account of a geographical excursion to the Morvan mountains of central France, with illustrations, and a review of a recent work on the evolution of the map of France, with numerous exemplar maps from 1730 to the present time.

The principal article in *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, number ten, is upon the Chukchis, a nomad tribe inhabiting the province of Anadyr, in the northeast corner of Asia. Their dwellings, manner of life, and customs are minutely described. Although the family tie is strong and the love and tenderness of parents for their children is manifest, there are no outward signs of affection, as handshaking or kissing. Their religious belief is very simple, the bad man being one who disregards the ancestral customs. If a man becomes life-weary and longs to die, his nearest relative kills him. Their wealth is in their reindeer, some families possessing herds numbering 100,000. A naturally stalwart race, they are threatened with two evils, venereal disease and intemperance, both of which, it is said by the author, Gen. Krahmer, have been introduced by American sailors and walrus hunters. Another tribe, the Lamuten, inhabiting this region, are remarkable for their honesty. If a man dies in debt, this is assumed by his son, if he have one; if not, by his relatives or the community in which he lived. Other articles are upon an exploring expedition in German East Africa, the new Venezuelan boundary, with a map, and the scheme of geographical instruction in the German high schools for the coming winter term.

—Our magazines pursue a policy of literary expansion; hence the circle of contributors tends to include more and more English and even European names. In *Scribner's* we find a story by Maarten Maartens ("An Author's Story"), and a sketch ("John Wesley—Some Aspects of the Eighteenth Century in England") by Augustine Birrell, whose light touch enables him to say many nice things in a neat way; in this essay he is at his best. He treats John Wesley as a typical man of the eighteenth century, because he was an enthusiast—enthusiasm having been, in Mr. Birrell's opinion, one of the marks of the age. We are, however, to understand that the exact opposite was the prevailing and dominant note, at least till towards the end, when enthusiasm religious, or enthusiasm political, or enthusiasm sentimental carried the day. Wesley really represented a reaction against the world of Horace Walpole. Of

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that world many hard things have been said. To Mark Pattison's "an age destitute of faith and earnestness, an age whose poetry was without romance, whose philosophy was without insight, and whose public men were without character," Mr. Birrell adds: "Its political franchise was certainly restricted, while its civil list was unduly extended." It was in what Lowell somewhere allusively calls the "dead waste and middle of the eighteenth century" that Wesley's voice resounded through England. When he died, in 1791, the old world of his youth had passed away; a new age had begun. The division into centuries is arbitrary. It would be much easier to divide the period between 1700 and 1900 into three epochs than into two. If we make 1800 the dividing line, Mr. Birrell, while conceding that the eighteenth century was "brutal, ignorant, and corrupt," thinks that there was "much less snobbery and money worship during the century when the British empire was being won, than during the century when it is being talked about." Mr. Gibson's drawings, "The Seven Ages of American Woman," are not likely to be overlooked.

—*Harper's* is devoted mainly to fiction. Mr. Howells, who brings "Their Silver Wedding Journey" to an end, so distinctly constitutes a class by himself that no one thinks, in this case, of comparisons, except with the earlier story to which it is a sequel. Mr. and Mrs. March are old friends, and so are Mr. Howells's style and delicate observation, humor, and sympathy. The two journeys are very different, and the author can hardly be said to have risked the dangers of attempting to "repeat a success"; we venture the prediction that no one will ever read the first without wishing to read the second, or the second without wishing to read the first. The American novel in Mr. Howells's hands is of the soil; no one would take Mr. and Mrs. March for people of any other country than their own; yet they are, in their humanity, entirely cosmopolitan. They represent the eternal masculine and the eternal feminine; Adam and Eve might be almost reconstructed from them. It is their individualities which are thoroughly American—not-to-be-forgotten types of our day and generation; lucky the next if it can produce as good! Thomas A. Janvier contributes a powerfully tragic Provençal story, "The Death-fires of Les Martigues" (illustrated by Lucius Hitchcock), and Howard Pyle a tale called "A Puppet of Fate: An Extravaganza," with grotesque illustrations in color by the author. It is an extravaganza of a well-known mock-antique order, but Mr. Pyle is not thoroughly at home in it. He does not seem to perceive that the effect is marred, and indeed almost destroyed, by the introduction of the derisive author. Leila Herbert brings to an end in this number her account of Washington, "The First American: His Homes and his Households" (illustrated by A. I. Keller and Harry Fenn). The view taken of Washington is not new, but many interesting domestic details are given.

—The *Atlantic Monthly* for December contains several literary articles likely to attract attention. "A Philistine View," by Prof. T. R. Lounsbury, is an entertaining account of the circumstances connected with the production of Browning's play of "A Blot on the 'Scutcheon," reinforced by a criticism of the play. Prof. Lounsbury undertakes to show that, to the Philistine, *i. e.*, to the wayfaring man, the play was foredoomed to failure, and never could, or can, succeed on the stage. Briefly stated, his view is that the action violates, not probability (for he is altogether too acute to appeal to the least certain of all tests), but what might be called the law of adequate motive. This law requires, at least in a tragedy, that the behavior of the persons involved should be so related to the *motives* represented as acting upon them, that the Philistine spectator shall feel that they are natural in behaving as they do. In "A Blot on the 'Scutcheon," Prof. Lounsbury undertakes to show that the tragedy "has all along a series of narrow escapes from coming to a happy termination, and nothing has been able to save it from that fate but a corresponding series of peculiarly irrational acts on the part of the characters." If there is any such law, Prof. Lounsbury maintains his thesis well. But is there? Farce often gives it the lie, and why not tragedy? Were the great successes of Victor Hugo obtained in obedience to the law of adequate motive? In "The Seven Seas and the Rubáiyát," Paul Elmer More has the temerity to criticise Kipling. "Crudeness" is imputed to him as to a poet "little formed by the traditions of the past"; also a lack of love of beauty. Kipling is here explained as the *vatis sacer* of a generation so absorbed in the pursuit of gain, and so steeped in materialism and crazed with the cult of the strenuous and noisy, as to have lost its interest in ideas, beauty, and truth. Whatever he is, there is no doubt that the more we admire him, the more we make ourselves responsible for him.

—The *Century* has a readable paper by Sir Walter Besant on "One of Two Millions in East London." Prof. Huxley, who is said to have begun life "by practising as a medical man in this quarter," once said, "I have seen the Polynesian savage in his primitive condition, before the missionary, or the blackbirder, or the beachcomber got at him. With all his savagery, he was not half so savage, so unclean, so irreclaimable as the tenant of a tenement in an East London slum"; and Sir Walter Besant adds that life in East London as it was thirty years ago "could not be written down with any approach to truth in the pages of this magazine." But a great change has come over this quarter, owing to the Board School. The article gives an account of the life of a girl, a child called Liz, who, at three years of age, passes from the nursery (*i. e.*, the doorstep, curb, and street) into the nearest board school. Here she begins to learn the lessons which among the more fortunate classes are taught at home—to obey, to be quiet, and to be clean. Saturday, for instance, being a holiday, is the only day in the week in which she may go unwashed—a complete revolution in the life of a child who hitherto has had one wash a week. At this school she remains from three to fourteen years of age, but what she has learned, meantime, seems rather hard to state. At any rate Sir Walter Besant contents himself with saying that the school has taught her, "besides a certain small amount of temporary and short-lived book-lore, some kind of elementary manners, a respect at least for manners, the knowledge of what manners may mean." He adds that "the clergy and the machinery of the parish cannot teach these things," because the families of the class from which Liz comes "do not go to church." To school, however, they must send their children. These schools it is which have caused the disappearance of the Polynesian traits. "They have not only added millions to the numbers of those who read a great deal and perhaps (but this is doubtful) think a little, but they have abolished much of the old savagery." Mr. Morley's sumptuously illustrated Cromwell continues to be the most noticeable feature of the *Century*. In this number Mr. Morley suggests that, so far as the legal rights or wrongs of the case were concerned, we need not trouble ourselves too much about the attainder of Strafford. "Stone-dead hath no fellow" may come to be plain common-sense in an age in which it is "my head or thy head."

—The 'Unpublished Legends of Virgil, Collected by Charles Godfrey Leland' (Macmillan) recalls in the first place the editor's other studies in folk-lore, and secondly the great work of Comparetti, to whom, by the way, this volume is dedicated. It is properly a supplement to 'Virgil in the Middle Ages.' With Comparetti the popular theories about Virgil constitute but one chapter of a varied and extensive study. With Mr. Leland the legendary element is everything, for neither in his introduction nor in his notes does he consider the place of Virgil in the history of higher culture. Most of the tales which have hitherto been published come from the region of Naples, and, as Prof. Robertson Ellis has pointed out, give slight evidence of imaginative power. Mr. Leland draws from a fresh source altogether, namely, Tuscany. By the aid of a fortune-teller he has collected many *contes* which are still prevalent in the neighborhood of Florence, Volterra, Rocca-Casciano, Arezzo, and Siena. Of these he prints fifty, and there are more in reserve. Mr. Leland claims for his collection a larger share of romance and humor than is apparent in the stories which have grown up about the grotto of Posilippo and other spots in the neighborhood of Naples. A difference of form is also observable. Whereas the Neapolitan legends are of the nursery type, those of Tuscany more nearly approach the short story. Throughout central and northern Italy, Virgil seems to the popular imagination a wonder-worker of much benignity who sometimes enjoys a joke. Mr. Leland advances an interesting opinion when he connects the fame of Virgil among the masses with the popularity of Dante. "That is to say, there was, after Dante, a kind of renaissance in the fame of Virgil as a magician." While we have called this series of tales a supplement to Comparetti, the reader will see from what has just been said that it is not merely an aftermath. It covers a different field locally, and the subject-matter is of a rather higher class. One query which is inevitably suggested relates to the manner in which the narratives were collected. Mr. Leland did not take them down himself. How can he make sure that his "witch" has not imposed on him, or that the country folk gave them to her in authentic form? This doubt, which will occur to every one at first glance, has already been raised in Italy. Mr. Leland says: "A learned Italian professor very lately asked me how I could be sure that

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the common people did not palm off on me their own inventions as legends of Virgil. To which I replied that I would not be responsible for the antiquity or origin of a single tale." Still, Mr. Leland puts faith in their genuineness, on the strength, largely, of the recondite classical lore which is woven into them. To us they seem real fruits of popular memory and invention. Certainly they were well worth collecting.

—'A Primer of French Verse,' by Frederic Spencer, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of French in the University College of North Wales (Macmillan), deserves recommendation for the clearness and thoroughness with which it sets forth the elements of French prosody. Beginning with syllabic measurement as a basis, the writer passes on to rhyme, rhythmical accent or cadence, cæsura, and some of the better-known forms of metrical sequence. The omission of stanzaic arrangements was probably determined by the small size of the volume. Each point discussed is illustrated with extracts from French poets, from Charles d'Orléans to the present day; and the book thus subserves the further purpose of a well-selected anthology. In discussing the shortest forms of French verse, Prof. Spencer might have begun with Rességuier's one-syllable line, and the amusing parody of the type given in 'Jérôme Paturot,' as follows: 'Quoi! Toi, Belle, Telle, Que, Je, Rêve, Ève,' etc., the hirsute poet checking himself, we are told, only at the one hundred and fiftieth verse. A somewhat disconcerting device has been adopted in the titles of the extracts, which have been for the most part Englished or paraphrased. "What is bred in the bone will not out of the flesh," takes the place of La Fontaine's modest "Le Loup et le Renard." Béranger would surely have missed the identity of his "Hirondelles" under the disguise of "Dulces reminiscitur Argos." By wisely avoiding the vexed questions raised of late years by the Décadents, and such details as the precise value of the *consonne d'appui*, Prof. Spencer keeps his primer to its chief function, that of teaching beginners something of the intricacies of French versification, of which the average "Anglo-Saxon" reader ordinarily remains in dogmatically contented ignorance.

FOULKE'S MORTON.

Life of Oliver P. Morton, including his Important Speeches. By William Dudley Foulke. 2 vols. Indianapolis: The Bowen-Merrill Co. 1899.

Oliver P. Morton was born in 1823, and died in 1877, at the age of fifty-four. He did not become a figure of more than local importance till the period of Mr. Lincoln's Presidency, and his career on the national stage lasted for but seventeen years, during which he made his mark first as Governor of Indiana, then as Senator at Washington. This period was, however, so crowded with events in which we all of us had a great stake, that the reader involuntarily measures the time by them, and closes the book with the feeling that Morton, instead of having died young, had really lived for two lifetimes. This effect is heightened by the fact that the country in which Morton was born and had his bringing up and made his entrance into public life, seemed in 1860 to come to an end with a great convulsion; that the war changed the whole character of life in the United States, and violently substituted a military for a civil régime, while the abolition of slavery made a complete break with the past. The twelve years of reconstruction which followed were a period by themselves, and not until they ended in the election of Hayes (closely followed by Morton's death) did the continuity of the country's history seem reestablished, and the new United States of America emerge from the eclipse into which the struggle over slavery had plunged it. Mr. Foulke divides his book into two parts, the first dealing with Morton as "war Governor" of Indiana, the second with his career as Senator. Morton himself could look back to an earlier period when he had been a Democrat, an expansionist of the stanch Jacksonian faith, when the discussion of slavery was *anathema maranatha*, and when the Republican party had as yet no existence.

To Morton's early life Mr. Foulke devotes some six chapters; but, besides giving us a curious picture of the times and of the Indiana of that day, they do not contain much of interest. The name was originally Throckmorton, and was made into Throck Morton, so Mr. Foulke believes, by the father of the Governor on account of a family grudge. The original Throckmorton was a friend of Roger Williams, and seems to have been a man of some mark among the early New Englanders. Descendants of his moved away from New England; in the case of the most distinguished of them, it needs no genealogical tree to prove his New England origin, for it was stamped upon his character. New English in many things he is, in his independence, in his integrity, in his energy, in his simplicity, in his inborn republicanism, in his hardness, and in a certain distinction of mind, combined with a commonness of breeding, which from the first endeared the Puritans to one another, and was gall and wormwood to those who did not like them. He was Western, however, in being of no defined religion; at Miami University he asked to be excused from studying Paley's 'Evidences of Christianity,' having read the book through and found the evidences "not satisfactory." Some one calls him a "Channing Unitarian," but Dr. Channing would hardly have been willing to father his faith. When he had the stroke of paralysis which made him a cripple for life, an old Quaker lady suggested that he should devote some time to the care of his soul. "That," he said, "has been attended to." Of religion inspired by fear he knew nothing. The last sign of life he gave was to shake his head in answer to the question whether he was afraid to die. Of courage in dealing with his fellows he had almost too much. When he once found out that the Indiana Democratic leaders during the war were timid and treacherous, he hesitated at nothing, instinctively relying on the command which his courage gave him. His complete domination over them they could not understand, and to his last day ascribed to him a "devilish ingenuity" which he plainly never possessed. He was ambitious without being greedy for wealth, and died in office, a poor man. *Credite posteri.*

Morton began life as a clerk in a drug-store—the circumstances of the family were very narrow; but, owing to a passion for reading, and to the ambition which urged him in the direction of public life, he soon turned his attention to law. Through the law he was drawn into politics as inevitably as was Lincoln in Illinois, Andrew in Massachusetts, or Seward in New York. In fact, he was one of a group of lawyers who may be said to have directed the destinies of the Union through the war. No one can now understand the part played by him at the outbreak of the Rebellion, without constantly bearing in mind that, at that time, political questions presented themselves to the American public primarily in a legal and constitutional light. The first question asked as to any new proposal was not so much, was it wise or necessary, as, was it legal. It was this attitude of mind which gave slavery so much of its strength. There was no doubt that slavery was legal—entrenched in the Constitution; and for a long time this seemed to settle the question. That slavery was an antiquated, barbarous institution, outgrown by the Old World and the greater part of this country, made no difference. It was in the Constitution, and, being there, must be defended, even if it ruined the country.

What institutions, however, should be tolerated in the Territories was clearly a matter which the majority had, under the Constitution, the right to decide; and on this the debate ultimately turned. As a Territorial question, it was natural that a lawyer from one of the newer Western States should feel and speak on slavery with extraordinary force. No one was better qualified to perceive and point out the difference between the institution as it had existed from the first in the original States, and the problem now presented in the Territories, than a citizen of a community like Indiana, which had never been a sovereign State at all, but was the creature of the Federal Government, called into being upon terms and conditions imposed by it. Morton seems to have perceived very early how the matter was going. In 1854, when he was a rising Democrat, with Congress full in view, he "walked out of the Democratic party" on the Kansas-Nebraska bill, which he opposed as a repeal of the Missouri Compromise of 1820. Six years later we find him announcing his platform: "I am opposed to the diffusion of slavery. I am in favor of preserving the Territories to freedom, of encouraging, elevating, and protecting free labor, at the same time conscientiously believing that with slavery in the several States we have nothing to do and no right to interfere." This was an impregnable position; its impregnability came from its being based on a view of the Constitution which could be sustained in the legal forum.

In Indiana, as elsewhere, the battle at first was fought out from step to step like a lawsuit (the similarity was heightened by the habit of having joint debates and "dividing time"). Morton was a protagonist in the debates; his speeches of this period are models of clear, forcible statement. The great advantage of the position taken by such supporters of Lincoln as himself was that it put the South from the outset in the wrong. When eight States seceded, and Jefferson Davis was inaugurated President of the Southern Confederacy in advance of the inauguration of Lincoln, and this was followed, after his accession to power, by an attack on Federal property, the law and the Constitution were all on the side of the Union, and Lincoln was able to take the stand, so necessary in view of the inherited

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and confirmed legalism of the people, that in calling out troops and putting down the rebellion he was not making war, but merely discharging the constitutional function of executing the laws.

Had Morton's career ended here, it would have been creditable, but not memorable. It was when he became Governor of Indiana, during the war, that his highest powers were brought out. Into all the intricate detail of that period Mr. Foulke goes with care; but it can be all summed up in a few words. During the war Morton was the State of Indiana. The Legislature played no part, or no effective part, in the events of the time; it was Morton who raised the troops, supplied the troops, and even, in many cases, paid the troops. Partly this was due, no doubt, to the extraordinarily treacherous and foolish action of the minority party, which, with its Southern sympathies and incapacity for intelligent action, defeated its own ends; but chiefly to the iron will and unremitting energy of Morton himself. The story is all the more remarkable because, at the outbreak of the rebellion, Indiana was the last State in the Union which appeared likely to turn out a fortress to the Northern side. Her treasury was bankrupt, her credit poor, frauds were rife, there were no arms, ammunition, or militia, except on paper, and it was a matter of great doubt whether the sentiment of the community was not hostile to the prosecution of the war. The task of Andrew in Massachusetts was simpler than that of Morton.

The Union triumphed, and with it Morton triumphed. At the close of the war he stood revealed as one of the chief figures of a great historic period, a brilliant proof of what energy, truth, simplicity, will, and intelligence can accomplish against apparently overwhelming odds. He went to Washington as Senator, and as Senator he remained there until his death; but what did he accomplish there to add to his fame? This question Mr. Foulke undertakes to answer in his second volume, but we can hardly say that he answers it satisfactorily. Morton's speeches in favor of the reconstruction policy of Congress and against that of Johnson are striking; but after his vote for conviction in the impeachment proceedings —which even he does not seem to have attempted to defend—all is confusion. Mr. Foulke goes over the later speeches one by one, and gives copious extracts from them; he tries to reconcile views as to the currency evidently derived from an early Democratic training with later views derived from inflationist or repudiationist associations; he shows in Morton a consistent supporter of Grant, when the latter was reforming the civil service and also when he was making his second term odious; he tells us all about Morton's attitude in the French Arms debate, and the controversy over the deposition of Sumner from the Foreign Relations Committee; but we confess we are unable to follow the thread. At the end, all that we can say is that Morton comes out better than we could have imagined. But he adds nothing to what he has already done. Morton seems to be following, not leading, and we feel that we catch no glimpse of the real springs of his actions, unless they are all to be explained, as his enemies maintained, in one very simple way—that he was aiming at the Presidency by the high road of party subserviency.

There is no clear account here of the history of the country, by which we can measure the part played by Morton, and the biographical method is pushed to the extreme of swamping everything else. Thus we get a great deal too much of the French Arms debate, and a great deal too little of the Cincinnati movement of 1872, which, though ending in disaster for the time, was one of the contributing causes of the Hayes nomination in 1876 and the subsequent Cleveland movement. To Democrats and Independents during all this period Morton was a partisan reactionary. The strange thing about his life now is that, with all his activity, his efforts come to nothing. He is offered the Chief Justiceship, but refuses it; he is offered the English mission, but declines it; he is the champion of the San Domingo treaty, and it fails; he plants his foot firmly on the neck of the South, and loses the nomination for the Presidency by it; he is ceaselessly occupied in defending the Republican party and the Administration against attacks, but of constructive policy he shows no sign. This cannot be attributed to his ill health, for his mind was as vigorous as ever and his activity incessant, but must, in part at least have been due to the benumbing influences of the atmosphere of Washington. Who has gone there since the war ended without becoming blinded to the real state of feeling throughout the country? An abortive constitutional amendment as to Presidential elections is pretty much all that remains to distinguish what Morton did in Washington from the work of a half-a-dozen other "Administration Senators," none of them his equal in native ability or force. There are also his speeches; but how different from the speeches of that earlier day when he was expounding the great principles of freedom under the law, and defending the powers of the popular branch of the Government against the encroachments of the executive!

The fact is, that this part of Morton's career cannot be understood or criticised by any one who does not himself take a clear position. It was a period in which the Republican party were going violently in one direction, which was to cover them with either glory or obloquy. On the other hand, an independent movement had begun, mainly directed to criticism of the Republican party and to the bringing forward of the three great questions of the civil service, of currency, and of revenue reform. Morton placed himself directly in the path of reform and change. One of his speeches here quoted shows that, while he voted for civil-service appropriations, he was opposed to the whole theory of the change, and did not even understand it. Others show that while originally a hard-money Democrat, he soon lost his bearings on that question, and never found them again; as to the tariff, he cared little about it one way or the other, and on one occasion (vol. ii., p. 516) said, "I do not pretend to understand that question." The road on which the Republican party was advancing led it directly to disaster and defeat. After maintaining possession of the country from 1860 to 1876, the election of that year ended in a scandal out of which the prize was carried by a victory almost as bad as a defeat, to be succeeded eight years later by the Blaine disaster, and then by alternate Democratic and Republican administrations, so that it is to-day at least an open question whether, as contrasted with the whole body of opposition, the Republican party is not a minority party. To this result Morton did all in his power to contribute, and the question of interest to any one reading his life is whether he is a type of a statesman or a reactionary.

To our mind he was distinctly a reactionary, a man bolstering up the managers of a powerful party and the dispensers of its patronage (he was one of them himself) against the advancing opinion of the country, the movement of the times, and the march of events. Little by little he becomes, as he goes on, one of a "group," in other words, a cabal, and, though not corrupt himself, is the buttress of corruption in others. Little by little he loses all independence, and becomes a mere tool; for him public opinion ceases to mean the opinion of the country, and has come to be identified with the private interests of a knot of politicians and bosses. But what does Mr. Foulke think about it? We cannot answer the question, except to say that throughout he is a eulogist and apologist.

CRAWFORD'S STUDIES.

Studies in Foreign Literature. By Virginia M. Crawford. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. 1899.

The opening paragraphs of Miss Crawford's essay on Sienkiewicz, the Polish novelist, refer to qualifications essential for critical judgment of foreign writers, such as acquaintance with their language, national characteristics and literary history, and some capacity for casting off one's native preferences and prejudices. This is, perhaps, by way of apology for presumption in judging Slavic writers through French versions—a too great modesty in view of her fine appreciation of Tolstoy and Turgeneff. Her knowledge of the most modern French and Italian authors is intimate and first-hand, and her capacity for detaching herself from British ideals is best indicated by noting her assumption of a certain approximate equality between Shakspere and Ibsen, her wonder at our chill neglect of Mr. Coventry Patmore, and her impious suggestion that Mr. Kipling's poems may not be literature, but merely music-hall ditties. Such heresy naturally leads to treason. To belittle our own ideals is a preparation for exaltation of those which are least comprehensible and therefore most objectionable to us. So we run over Miss Crawford's subjects, Huysmans, Maeterlinck, D'Annunzio, with anticipation of an estimate of these unintelligibles and abominables absolutely different from our own.

Very soon it appears that she has unusual natural tendencies, valuable for presenting the French and Flemish symbolists sympathetically, and with remarkable lucidity, considering the black darkness she has to penetrate. She is convinced that the material side of life, the visible, the external, all that we call real, is accidental and unimportant, and that human history, rightly conceived, is not a narrative of events or a record of intellectual progress, but an examination of man's spiritual conflicts and of the effect of life upon the soul in its relation to eternity. She has a strong affinity with mysticism—not Eastern occultism or any Western caricature of that, but Christian mysticism, particularly associated with those mediæval saints whose experiences and confessions are to the nor-

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mal modern at once so fearful and so incomprehensible. She speaks, therefore, of the symbolists, not as the lover of novelty, shallow and undiscerning, not as the æsthete, solely preoccupied with theories of art, but as a sincere believer in a spiritual significance underlying even that which appears grotesque or depraved in the performance of her authors.

Without denying their frequent use for general illustration of the most vicious Parisian experiences, or qualifying the repulsiveness of the images they most delight in, she extenuates their grossness, partly because most of them are literary graduates from the naturalistic school, and partly by a sort of identification with those saints who made for themselves a penance by photographing with pen and ink the naked iniquity of their souls. Of course, in accepting symbolist and saint as convertible terms, care must be taken to choose the saint. There are, indeed, moments when Miss Crawford's faith wavers and her special perception waxes dim. In such a crisis she is driven to describe a poem by Émile Verhaeren ('Celui du Rien') as "so hopelessly incoherent that it reads like the lurid visions of a delirium-tremens patient," and though to him "the spirit world has become the real, the dominant world," he is on the whole a poorer sort of mystic, not profound, an exquisitely susceptible dreamer of dreams. In Georges Rodenbach, the Singer of Bruges, she detects a want of robustness, unhealthy, morbid imaginings, which are "results of study of decaying life and efforts to catch at the subtle significance of unimportant manifestations"; while D'Annunzio, though happily inclined towards symbolism and mystical interpretation, is, so far, deep in Latin sensuality and immoral paganism—a rather hopelessly poisonous flower of decadence. With commendable honesty she acknowledges her failure to catch the meaning of the antics of these minor mystics, but the masters, Maeterlinck and Huysmans, are as easy reading for her as is a primer for the rest of us—in them she triumphantly rejoices.

With Maeterlinck she has no horrors or indecencies to explain—even an unsympathetic reader must perceive that he is a singularly pure and gentle young man, who doubtless means well, but has an odd way of concealing his meaning, though he occasionally says things about life and love and death which are both clear and beautiful. Besides, he has a grace of melancholy, a refinement of sentiment, which so touch the imagination that reason may be dispensed with. Every one who entertains any curiosity about the much derided Maeterlinck should read this essay, because, even if not converted by Miss Crawford's enthusiasm and reverence, thought must be stimulated and cock-sure judgment restrained. Of Maeterlinck's literary integrity we have no doubt, but are less confident about Huysmans's, of whom Miss Crawford harbors no suspicion. To her he is a prophetic soul, an isolated figure looming above decadent contemporaries. 'Là-bas,' 'En Route,' and 'La Cathédrale' "form the veracious history of a soul's conversion from materialism of the grossest kind to faith of a high spiritual order." Here it seems to us that her natural tendencies have seriously impaired her judgment. In all Huysmans's works there is a theatrical pose, a too evident sense of literary effect, a crude delight in brutalities which it is impossible to reconcile with genuine and acute interest in the soul's welfare. He is of a sensuality so gross that he can defile by description the sanctity of the cloister and profane the temple of the most high God.

Miss Crawford's predisposition, too, is the slender and only prop of her belief that decadent French literature will be revived by the symbolists. In discussing 'Quo Vadis?' and also D'Annunzio's attempt to revive the spirit and form of Greek tragedy in "La Ville Morte," she sees clearly enough that we have long ago passed beyond pagan ideals in literature as well as in life; that "we cannot, if we would, put ourselves wholly back into the spirit of ancient Hellas." Equally, how can we put ourselves back into a mediæval atmosphere? How shall we be helped to live by ecstasies of hysterical visionaries? Taking the symbolists at her valuation (the highest possible), still in the essence of their work there is nothing new, nor do we find even a modern presentation of the best and most enduring of the thought of the race which may still help us to struggle out of the mire and to aspire. In a bizarre form they have attempted to revive a literature that has had its day, that was evolved by persons isolated from their kind and practically dead to life. They have all the external signs of decadence and no vital principle that makes for a new birth.

Far more hopeful, so far as the French are concerned, was the universal welcome given to "Cyrano de Bergerac," a play but lightly esteemed by Miss Crawford; not because she thinks it undramatic or dull, or poorly wrought, but because it is a flagrant defiance of those Maeterlinckian principles in the triumph of which alone she can see the drama emerging from degradation. To her the success of "Cyrano" is closely connected with the Dreyfus affair and militarism, but to others, of perhaps wider outlook, it seems a popular tribute to a poetical expression of healthy human emotion and clean though romantic sentiment. The enthusiastic applause of "Cyrano" was like an outburst of gratitude for relief from that comedy which has grown up since Maeterlinck was tried on the stage and extinguished by public indifference; a comedy so corrupt that M. Filon describes it as a perpetual iteration of the sentiment, "I am no good, you are no good. Let us embrace each other."

On all the questions of the theatre, however, Miss Crawford has gone far astray. She forgets that the drama is a form of art, concerned first of all with the external and circumstantial, with what is said, and pointedly and imperatively with what is done. The theatre may flourish without psychology, but without action it must shut its doors. Miss Crawford wonders why the inartistic and unspiritual British public crowds to every Shaksperian revival. There are a thousand reasons, but that most pertinent to her wonder is that the multitude does not, like her, most highly regard Shakspere as a metaphysical poet. It is because the plays move, because the plays laugh and cry, that Shakspere always "goes."

By giving so much space to Miss Crawford's articles on the symbolists we are reduced to a bare mention of her excellent study of "War and Peace," and critical appreciation of that genial writer who loved life and to whom death was chiefly an episode for pathos or tragedy, Alphonse Daudet. Unfortunately, in the essay on "French Decadence," she finds no explanation going deeper than the increase of women as readers of fiction, and their avidity for printed indecencies. Such a conclusion rather puts her at odds with Maeterlinck, who frequently declares that women are the guardians of spiritualities, and also with the majority of men, who cheerfully agree to honor women with the dignity of conservators of morals. There is a general disposition to make too much of a bogie of a noticeable literary decadence in France and other countries, implying an imperfect survey of literary history and a forgetfulness of tides in the affairs of men. We shall rise again, but in a literature that strengthens and spiritualizes for life, not in one that treats life as a hideous, ignoble, gloomy passage either to annihilation or eternity.

CUBA AND HER FUTURE.

To-morrow in Cuba. By Charles M. Pepper. Harper & Brothers. 1899. 8vo, pp. viii, 362.

Not every country can expect to find its Bryce or Tocqueville. The great political philosopher may never visit it; or, having come and tarried, he may not feel inclined to write. Cuba has, during the past two years, been subjected to an extraordinary amount of Anglo-Saxon scrutiny. Of English comment, Mr. Charles E. Akers's letters to the *Times* are by far the most observing and deeply reasoned. Unfortunately, they are not gathered in book form, and end with the Spanish evacuation. Of the various American essays on the subject, Mr. Pepper's is easily the first. While his book has admittedly cost him but a couple of years, he has none the less brought to its composition an impartiality, industry, and sympathy that are most creditable. He appends a small and well-selected bibliography of recent Cuban history, political and economic, which is by itself evidence of the extent of his reading. Omissions in it could easily be noted, but it is fairer to add that few of the books cited could be well neglected. The index to books and pamphlets relating to Cuba, prepared by the Librarian of Congress, would admirably supplement this list for the student.

Beginning with the illusory Pact of Zanjón (1878), Mr. Pepper devotes five chapters to a relation of the struggle for autonomy, ending in the scheme of insular government inaugurated just before our war, and ignobly perishing with Spanish sovereignty. His study of the ante-bellum "Reformists," "Autonomists," and "Union Constitutionals," interesting as it is, may not be accepted as final. The censorship of the press, the statutes relating to sedition, and the fear of deportation contributed to make Cuban political discussion dull. Men spoke in allegories and discussed human rights in the abstract, much as the debates in the Commons used to be reported as imaginary proceedings in the Parliament of Persia. The orations of Rafael Montoro, the most intellectual of the Autonomists (a collection that ought to be added to Mr. Pepper's list), were characterized by this abstraction, till, in his famous Tacon Theatre speech, the orator addressed a warning to the mother country, plainly threatening the war, from which he recoiled, affrighted, when it came. No one but a Cuban who knew the subtle meaning of

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such writings, and the real motives of the men who wrote them, or who can interpret the heady and rhetorical talk that has followed the departure of the censor, can say the last word on this interesting epoch. Perhaps it will never be said. At any rate, Mr. Pepper is the only one who has endeavored, even, to give an intelligible account of it to Americans. He is sympathetic to the Cuban idea, but not unjust to the Spanish; and where his statements can be tested, his conclusions appear sound, even if his facts in minor details are stated incorrectly.

He puts his finger on the three features of the Autonomist Constitution of 1897 that proved it a sham: the autocratic power still reserved to the Governor-General; the creation of life-appointees of the Crown, one less in number than a majority of the Council; and the limitation of the powers of the Insular Parliament to voting the local budget (*Gastos Domésticos*), after first having granted the national tribute (*Gastos de Soberanía*), which was about 85 per cent. of the total revenues of the island. In this last abuse—the exploitation of Cuba by aliens—lay the secret of all her revolutions. Refusal to remedy it made the proffer of such "autonomy" a mockery.

Mr. Pepper comments on the bewildering mass of decrees, statutes, *reglamentos*, and *bandos* that made Cuban law at all times so difficult to obey, for it was practically impossible to learn. Dr. Gener's endeavor, during the *morte saison* of the evacuation, to turn the Cuban bar, not to *reforming*, but to arranging, collecting, and annotating this mass of conflicting and obscure law—an inspiration which he drew from one of the wisest friends of Cuba—failed of success at the time; but some day it must succeed, for law is founded on certainty almost as firmly as on justice. Some Cuban statutes, like the Ley Municipal and Ley de Provincia, seem to state their purport clearly; and yet even they were so subject to saving clauses and modification by superior instruments that it is most instructive to read their formal and scientific language, and compare it with Mr. Pepper's chapters on the actual municipal and provincial governments, where the commonest thing was the centralization of power in one strong official, or the total abdication of it by a weak one. The collapse of municipal governments during the reconcentration, from mere lack of nerve in the alcaldes to take a lawful initiative, was one of the saddest of things. Where all initiative came from above, they would not dare close a polluted well, cleanse a hospital, or regulate a cemetery. Thus some towns perished off the earth.

Equally suggestive would be a comparison of the statutory provision for the establishment of courts, embracing elaborate codes of procedure and long lists of judges, syndics, fiscals, solicitors, advocates, escribanos and alguazils on their pay-rolls, with the practice of courts meanly held in the judge's private dwelling for lack of a public edifice; its minor officers eking out miserable salaries by blackmail or extortion. The schools would likewise appear well provided for by law, and ill by a miserly and ignorant administration, which throughout most of its branches was equally pretentious and rotten. Mr. Pepper does justice to the admirable Spanish system of recording deeds, which surpasses our own in simplicity, accuracy, ease of search, and beauty of the official copy, the last being characteristic of all Spanish official documents. There is a distinction about them that would obtain here only among engrossed addresses, while public records like the greasy "Libers" of the New York Register's office would be burned by the hangman in Havana as a public disgrace.

In spite of their provinciality and the puerility of much of their news matter, Mr. Pepper has a good word for the Havana newspapers, which have the advantage of being written in a language not yet debased by the slang of a "sporting community," and are edited by men of superior intelligence and influence. Indeed, he has very hopeful things to say of Cuban morals in general. The people do not drink to excess. They saw the alien bull-fights and lottery abolished with approval. They are peaceable and frugal, and, as to sexual morality, not much worse than other peoples, considering the climate, the mingling of races, the foreign commerce, and the presence among them for years past of an army of occupation, civil as well as military, that unnaturally increased the preponderance of males in the island. With the exodus of these disturbers of morals, not only will the standard of official honor rise, but of domestic life. Along with soldiers and place-holders will also go the Spanish ecclesiastics, the cruel and abandoned lives of so many of whom brought the influence of the Church to the lowest ebb. With Cuban priests responding to insular aspirations, and communities contributing to support their own church and clergy, religion should have a renaissance of wide importance. Mr. Pepper's chapters on these subjects are among the most novel and useful to American readers.

On the industrial side, he hopes for a diversification of small industries, while seeing sugar and tobacco as the island's only sources of immense wealth. Fruit farming, coffee planting, timber cutting, and mining will pay well, but after a while and in the right hands. So, also, will the building of railroads and tramways and the installation of telegraph and telephone lines. Those, too, after a while, for the country is still frightfully poor. Mr. Pepper has a fine scorn, in this connection, for the American speculators who swarmed on Havana after the evacuation, searching for sudden wealth, cursing the natives, talking big of annexation, and raising the color line where it had never existed. Analyzing the resident population, Mr. Pepper hopes for a continuing Spanish immigration, particularly of the Celtic stock, which now furnishes the best laborers in the island. Given plenty of labor and a free-sugar schedule in the United States tariff, and Cuba will flourish apace.

As to American occupation, Mr. Pepper thinks its best work is in setting up a standard of official honor, administering well while it does at all, and ending as soon as it can. He is hopeful of the Cubans' ability, once given opportunity to try, to govern (acceptably to themselves, at least) the land to which they have all the romantic attachment of islanders, and which has been made sacred to them by its terrible martyrdom. In the discussion of these problems, which will occupy our Congress in the near future, this serious, earnest, and suggestive book cannot but have great weight.

A second edition would be improved by an index and a revision of the proof-reading, which is very bad.

Primitive Love and Love-Stories. By Henry T. Finck. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1899. 8vo, pp. 851.

This work might well have been named 'The Evolution of Romantic Love.' It aims to show how the attachment of two unmarried persons has been, in the history of mankind, a progress from sensual and selfish to romantic and unselfish devotion, a struggle towards an ideal, the mightiest of all agencies in the preservation of the race. Romantic love is a compound of sentiment and conduct which exists between a man and his sweetheart, to wit—Egoistic ingredients: individual preference, monopolism, coyness, jealousy, mixed moods of hope and despair, hyperbole, adoration; Altruistic elements: purity, pride, admiration of personal beauty, gallantry, self-sacrifice, sympathy, and affection. When these are missing, there may be sentimentality, which is the counterfeit of romantic love, or sensuality, which is quite another thing. Just here we might suggest for coyness "the play or drama of romantic love," for only the sweetheart practises coyness. She responds to the opposite quality as elastic air responds to a piston in a cylinder. For "personal beauty" say "personal qualities," since you have seen a pretty girl in love with a dreadfully homely man.

The ingredients enumerated above form the headlines of fourteen chapters, which are rounded out with a discussion or definition of love in general and romantic love in particular, of sentiment as distinguished from sensuality and sentimentality, of mistakes regarding conjugal love, and, finally, of obstacles to romantic love. If the book had terminated here, with the addition of the closing argument, there would have been about four hundred pages of matter, a convenient size for a volume in this busy decade.

The remaining chapters are entitled Specimens of African Love; Aboriginal Australian Love; Island Love in the Pacific; How American Indians Love; India—Wild Tribes and Temple Girls; Does the Bible Ignore Romantic Love? Greek Love Stories and Poems. Without going into detail, there is not, according to Mr. Finck, a shadow or intimation of romantic love in any of these. Not only is there no intimation of its existence in literature, but it did not exist in fact.

We agree heartily with the author in the belief that all complicated human thoughts, feelings, purposes, have been elaborated from very humble beginnings. Also, the ideal standard of sexual devotion which he sets up is the acme of love. It is likewise true that, for shorter or longer periods—the sparrow for a season, the hawk for life—birds feel and act as though the rudimentary stages of romantic love had developed in them. Alas, it must be admitted that even in the most enlightened nations the majority of so-called young lovers are in a crude stage of our author's ideal. We agree with him concerning manly men and womanly women, and think also that the betterment of love must come not by repressing choice but by encouraging intelligent selection. And now, having endorsed Mr. Finck's theses, as we infer from his preface that he is sensitive to criticism and

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that he is jealously in love with his subject, we venture a suggestion or two:

(1.) Other things being equal, the shorter a scientific treatise the better. In Gray's Botany, for instance, you have the manual and the text-book under different covers.

(2.) If romantic love in none of its qualities had the slightest existence down to the Christian era, and its opposite is almost universal in all nations and tribes, where does the evolution come in? There ought to have been somewhere a promise, a potency, a little cloud of it no bigger than a man's hand. Have all the missing links dropped out?

(3.) Modern savagery does not represent primitive man. The five hundred pages of love stories in our volume are not disclosures of the evolution of love. In the long life of humanity, peoples have ascended and descended, advanced and retrograded, moved into congenial environments, and shrunk into the suburbs of the world. Surely from such brutality as the author pictures could not arise in all eternity one example of that love which he characterizes as the most useful thing in the world.

The closing chapter is the best. It should be printed as a tract. The unfortunate thing about it is, that all the old lovers who will read it are now in their post-graduate course, and the freshmen are not likely to see it.

Child-life in Colonial Days. By Alice Morse Earle. Macmillan. 1899.

Mrs. Earle, in this latest volume, has fitly crowned a memorable series. With her especial opportunity for researches among Colonial homes and archives, she has gathered up and presented in permanent form a remarkable array of facts and pictorial illustrations. The great interest now awakened in all matters relating to the development of the child, and the meagreness of early records, make this collection one of peculiar and permanent value. The list of illustrations comprises not only portraits of some thirty-five children of varying ages and phases, but pictures of all their appurtenances and belongings. We can follow them from the cradle to the school-house. We have specimens of their clothing, their toys, their school-books, their literature, their implements of industry and torture.

Mrs. Earle pictures early infantile life in the Colonies in very sombre colors. That so many survived the discomforts, the unsuitable clothing, untimely baptism in freezing meeting-house, domestic medicinal concoctions, etc., testifies to the care of the mother and the hardihood of the English constitution. The severity of the struggle for existence may have contributed towards the mature and dignified expression of many of the childish portraits; and then the style of dress makes them look older than their years. A boy after babyhood was dressed after the fashion of his father. Mrs. Earle has made an exhaustive study of children's costumes, and her lucid descriptions add much to the interest of the illustrations.

Schools and school life are treated with great fulness. We have samples of the primitive "horn-book," from which many generations learned the alphabet. Upon a thin sheet of wood was nailed a sheet of paper printed crosswise with the alphabet in large and small letters, rows of two-letter syllables, and the Lord's Prayer. This was covered by a thin sheet of yellowish horn. At the lower end was a small handle, often pierced with a hole. In this small compass were included what in modern phrase is known as "text-books and supplies." But though an immense number of them must have been in use, only three defaced specimens have been recovered in this country. These were followed, through process of evolution, by the well-known 'New England Primer.' Other historic school-books were: 'The Young Lady's Accidence,' an introduction to English Grammar, and Cocker's 'Arithmetick,' a guide to "the incomparabe art of cyphering." Of public schools we have a poor report. Small and uncomfortable school-houses, absurd methods of teaching, and great severity of discipline were the usual accompaniments. These were supplemented by Dames' schools for girls, and private study with ministers for boys. Discipline in home and school was rigidly administered. Yet, with all these drawbacks, Cotton Mather notes "that the youth of this country are verie sharp and early Ripe in their Capacities." Very remarkable instances of precocity are given, especially in reference to the religious development and attainments of very young children.

Great attention was bestowed upon manners and rules of etiquette. Reprints of English books, with "Rules for Children's Behaviour" on all sorts of occasions, were very widely circulated and enforced, and undoubtedly had much influence in softening the asperities of a rude age. The ideal of a child's life embodied in the familiar lines—

> "In books and work and healthful play
> May my first years be past,"

was at least partially attained in Colonial days. Mrs. Earle furnishes many illustrations of games, as well as "samples" of decorative art, and her closing chapters also afford glimpses of that mysterious "child lore" so strangely handed down from remote generations. The book is beautifully got up in every particular.

Some South African Recollections. By Mrs. Lionel Phillips. Longmans, Green & Co. 1899.

Mr. Lionel Phillips was one of the leaders of the "reform movement" in Johannesburg which culminated in the Jameson raid. In other words, he conspired to effect a revolution; and when he failed, and the Transvaal Government got hold of his cipher dispatches, he thought it best to plead guilty to the charge of high treason. At the time of the raid Mrs. Phillips was in England with her children, distracted with their sufferings from the measles, some ailments of her own, the necessity of going to Paris for dresses, and the news and lack of news from South Africa. These details she lays before the public with great particularity, interspersed with most acrimonious comments on the depravity of the Boers.

It is impossible not to be impressed with the unconscious impudence with which she justifies British aggression and denounces Dutch resistance. Her prejudice is too strong to allow us to attach much weight to her charges, and the photograph of the Phillips mansion at Johannesburg is in itself a refutation of many of them. People that live in such luxury really cannot be terribly oppressed by their Government; and when we read that Mr. Phillips was allowed to ride his bicycle without a guard while under arrest, we are not inclined to attach much weight to Mrs. Phillips's complaints of the severity of his treatment. In fact, the gravamen of her charges is that she was obliged to bribe the jailers in order to provide Mr. Phillips with some of his usual comforts. Yet her simplicity gives her narrative a certain value. We can gather from it the real feeling of the British towards their Dutch rulers, and understand how inevitable the present struggle had become. The rampant chauvinism of the author, her exasperating irrationality, her unbounded devotion to her husband, and her entire unscrupulousness in scheming in his behalf, make a combination that is interesting, if not attractive. Her book is little more than a diary; but it so quivers with emotion as to be readable, and it is adorned with many photographic views of unusual interest and beauty.

Little Beasts of Field and Wood. By William Everett Cram. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. 1899. 12mo, pp. 261, illustrated.

Muskrat, otter, mink, weasels, foxes, and squirrels are the little beasts of this book. The how to find them of the first chapter may be summed up in, "Follow their tracks on the snow." The author is an essayist, and his text relates to particular mammals with which a more or less intimate acquaintance has been made while wandering about New England fields and woods or along the smaller streams. His studies have not the depth and scientific value of those of Frank Bolles, but they are good as far as they go, and they are so interesting that readers on later excursions will profit because of them. The literary style is simple, clear, and attractive. The pages are free from attempts at fine writing; they bear comparatively few of the mistakes commonly made by the essayist who affects natural history—generalizations from insufficient premises, partial truths, and entire fictions. An occasional statement there is, however, that tells too little or too much. Thus, a reason for fewer tracks on the earliest snows as compared with those on later ones the author finds in feet that have not become toughened to the chill; this makes nothing of greater exertion necessitated by greater hunger as winter deepens. The ermine is pictured on its hunting trips "moving by leisurely, silent bounds over the pine needles"; such movement is usual in crossing open spaces, but in close thickets, in grass, or among rocks, the ermine noses around like a lively rat. A grandmother's story of a flying squirrel that crawled out of the pocket of a coat thrown across a chair, "sailed across the room to where she sat, and nestled contentedly in her hair, which she wore in a great fluffy mass piled high above her head," hardly allows the squirrel fall enough to gather momentum for such a sail. New Hampshire "lizards" would better be known as salamanders.

Twelve Months in Klondike. By Robert C. Kirk. London: William Heinemann; Philadelphia: Lippincott.

This is not an honest book, because the author is not careful of his facts, nor contented with his own observations, but has put together scraps from various sources,

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published and otherwise, with no references as to their sources or character. The first is shown in so many ways that detail is not necessary, while the second appears from the changes in style and the lack of coördination and consistency. It is a scrap-book of the fag-ends of information and misinformation, along with a very unconditioned attempt to describe an actual journey from San Francisco to Dawson, by way of Dyea and Lake Linderman, which, if not fabulous, is very remarkable for what it leaves out. The information would often be of interest and use if authenticated by the name of its author or a statement of the source.

The illustrations are generally good, but they often do not belong to the text, and sometimes not to the book. Perhaps the book was made to carry the pictures, and the photographer was too busy to see what the ordinary tourist would see. The pictures are all from photographs, and these are interesting and instructive, but they are amateurish and heterogeneous.

Mr. Dooley in the Hearts of his Countrymen. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. 1899.

Mr. Dooley won fame in the Spanish war, and it is not to be expected that his comments on peaceful themes should be as successful as his military criticisms. It must be said, however, that there is fighting enough in this book. The air is full of brickbats, and resounds with the whacks of the shillelah. There is bloodshed a plenty, but the wounds are not mortal, and are given and received with the traditional Irish *insouciance*. Perhaps the genial author has somewhat overdone this well-worked theme of Irish pugnacity; but his sketches are spirited and clever, and the world seems never to tire of smiling at "the rows and the ructions" to which the natives of the Emerald Isle are supposed to devote all their leisure.

What Mr. Dooley has to say of the careers of sundry local bosses is more instructive than the disquisitions of most writers on political science. To the people of "Archey Road," the issues decided at elections are not related to abstract principles of legislation, but are intensely local and personal. Whether this one shall get a place "on the force," and that one hold his position as bridge-tender, are questions that interest the ordinary voter more than tariffs or constitutions, and no one can listen to Mr. Dooley without obtaining some useful suggestions concerning the nature of government by universal suffrage. As in his comments on the war, Mr. Dooley shows an impartial and penetrating judgment. He "shoots folly as she flies," and allows no humbug to remain unexposed, no cant to pass for genuine feeling. He is too cynical to be compared with Hosea Biglow, but he uses the weapon of ridicule with very telling effect. Possibly this weapon is more serviceable in influencing a democracy than logical argument, or appeals to principle and to history. At all events, the creator of Mr. Dooley knows how to handle it; and, to treat him seriously, he invariably employs it against what deserves contempt and derision. To the canting imperialist we have no doubt that Mr. Dooley's sarcasm appears extremely coarse and vulgar; but there is enough of pure fun in this book to make it acceptable to every one possessing the sense of humor.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Albert, R. Rambles in Dickens' Land. Truslove, Hanson & Comba. $1.50.
Barry, J. D. Mademoiselle Blanche. John Lane. $1.50.
Campbell, W. W. Beyond the Hills of Dream. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25.
Devereux, R. Side Lights on South Africa. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co.
Ellis, E. S. Through Jungle and Wilderness. The Mershon Co.
Ford, P. L. Janice Meredith. Illustrated ed. Dodd, Mead & Co. 2 vols. $5.
Furst, C. A Group of Old Authors. Philadelphia: G. W. Jacobs & Co. $1.
Garstin, N. The Suitors of Aprille. John Lane. $1.50.
Hadden, J. C. Thomas Campbell. [Famous Scots Series.] Scribners. 75c.
Hart, A. B. Salmon Portland Chase. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25.
Idylls of the Lawn. Roanoke, Va.: The Stone Printing and Manufacturing Co.
Jacobs, J. Tales from Boccaccio. Truslove, Hanson & Comba.
Johnson Club Papers. Scribners. $2.
Kuhns, O. French Reading for Beginners. Henry Holt & Co. 70c.
Lange, D. Our Native Birds. Macmillan. $1.
Lee, U. Parliamentary Lessons. Rand, McNally & Co. $1.
Lee's American Tourist's Map of Paris. Chicago: Laird & Lee. 50c.
Le Gallienne, R. The Worshipper of the Image. John Lane. $1.25.
Lent, W. B. Holy Land from Landau, Saddle, and Palanquin. Bonnell, Silver & Co. $1.50.
Lloyd, A. B. In Dwarf Land and Cannibal Country; A Record of Travel and Discovery in Central Africa. Scribners. $5.
Macmillan, C. Minnesota Plant Life. St. Paul: University of Minnesota.
Mahan, Capt. A. T. Lessons of the War with Spain. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. $2.
Maitland, Rev. S. R. Essays on Subjects Connected with the Reformation in England. John Lane. $2.
Mau, A. Pompeii: Its Life and Art. Translated by F. W. Kelsey. Macmillan.
McCormick, J. The Child's Name. W. H. Young & Co. 50c.
McGill, Mary A. Little Orphan Annie. O'Shea & Co.
McLennan, W. In Old France and New. Harpers. $1.50.
Mercer, A. G. Notes of an Outlook on Life. London: George Bell & Sons.
Millingen, Prof. A. van. Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites. London: John Murray; New York: Scribners. $7.50.
Miln, Louise J. Little Folk of Many Lands. Scribners. $4.
Milton, J. Paradise Lost. Cassells. 10c.
Morrison, A. To London Town. H. S. Stone & Co. $1.50.
Muirhead, J. F. The Land of Contrasts: A Briton's View of his American Kin. New edition. John Lane. $1.50.
Müller, F. Max. Sacred Books of the Buddhists. Henry Frowde. Vol. 2.
Musgrave, G. C. Under Three Flags in Cuba. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. $2.
Payne, D. Mistress Penwick. R. F. Fenno & Co. $1.50.
Persons, Eleanor A. Our Country in Poem and Prose. American Book Co. 50c.
Phillpotts, Eden. The Human Boy. Harpers. $1.25.
Putnam, Georgina L. The Two Legacies. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.
Reid, R. In Summertime. R. H. Russell.
Richardson, J. D. A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents. 1789-1897. Washington: The Committee of Distribution. 10 vols.
Rusling, Gen. J. F. Men and Things I Saw in Civil War Days. Eaton & Mains. $2.50.
Scott, Clement. The Drama of Yesterday and To-day. Macmillan. 2 vols. $8.
Sharp, Evelyn. The Other Side of the Sun. John Lane.
Stoddart, Anna M. Elizabeth Pease Nichol. London: J. M. Dent & Co.; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.
Strong, Prof. A. H. Christ in Creation and Ethical Monism. Philadelphia: The Roger Williams Press.
Tuer, A. W. Old-Fashioned Children's Books. London: The Leadenhall Press; New York: Scribners. $2.50.
Turner, Mrs. M. The Bible God. Bible Teachings. New York: Peter Eckler. 25c.
Twombly, A. S. Hawaii and Its People. Silver, Burdett & Co.
Wotton, Mabel E. The Little Browns. London: Blackie & Son; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.

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